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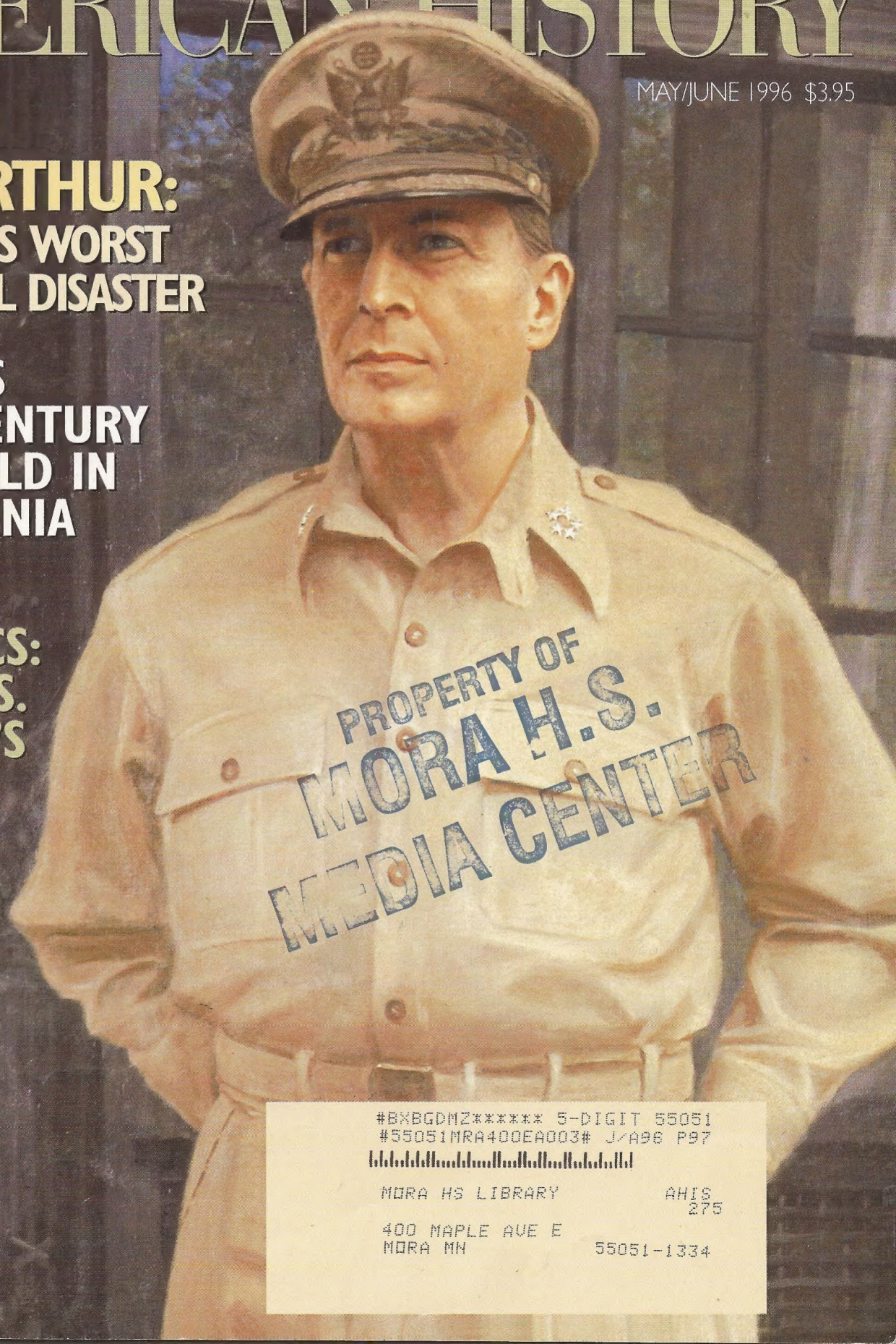
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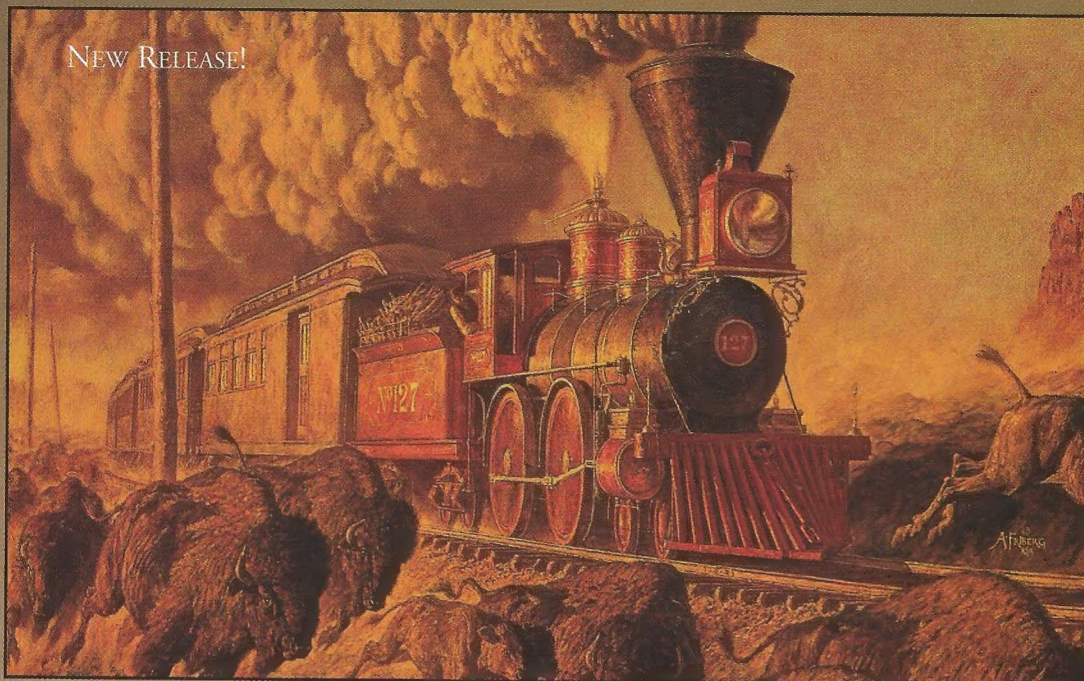
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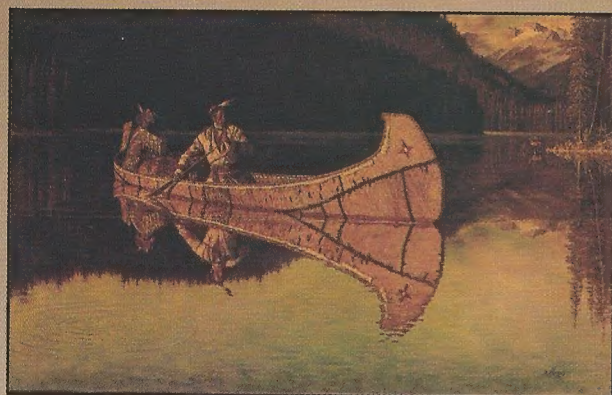
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by K. C. Tessendorf/  
With an unquenchable thirst for high adventure and an almost reckless nature, Walter Wellman repeatedly pursued goals he unfortunately was never able to attain.



Poet Robert Burns would not have been surprised that even "the best laid schemes" of American presidents "gang aft a-gley," as Harry S. Truman found out when he attempted to relieve General Douglas MacArthur of command in Korea in 1951. Beginning on page 28, Harry J. Maihafer—who witnessed a small part of the drama in person—recounts the events that led to Truman's decision to relieve the WWII hero and the mix-ups that turned it into one of the most costly communications disasters in U.S. presidential history. Cover portrait by Thomas Stephens, courtesy of the West Point Museum.

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## EDITOR'S DESK

### thoughts on history

At the risk of giving away my age, I have to admit that the earliest memory I have of a newsworthy event is the end of World War II; actually, not so much the end of the war, as the return of the servicemen and -women to my Brooklyn neighborhood in 1945 when the war was over. I was very young, but I remember vividly how exciting it seemed to see all the houses decorated with red-white-and-blue bunting and how pleased everyone was when the family gathered to welcome home each of our returnees.

For the next six years, my mind has imposed a sort of a news blackout. I know from my study of history that a lot happened during that time, but I don't personally recall being aware of any of it. But I do remember the subject of this issue's cover story in *American History*—President Harry S. Truman's 1951 relief of General Douglas MacArthur as the commander of the United Nations forces in Korea.

We did not have a television set in our house as yet and I have no memory of hearing the Truman-MacArthur controversy mentioned on the radio news. But I must have heard it discussed among the adults in the family because, though I didn't understand it all, I somehow came to feel quite strongly about the subject. So much so, that a playmate and I, parroting our respective families' viewpoints, got into a knock-down, drag-out fist fight in the street over the whole thing. It was all rather unseemly for two little girls, but I like to think it simply presaged my interest in things historical.

For the author of our article, Harry J. Maihafer, the controversy and the events that surrounded it were of much more immediate interest. Then a young aide-de-camp to General Blackshear M. Bryan in Korea, he was present when Secretary of the Army Frank Pace, Jr., took General Matthew Ridgway aside to give him the news that he had been designated by the president to be MacArthur's successor. Beginning on page 28, Colonel Maihafer explains the factors involved in the president's decision and the numerous

communications mix-ups that occurred, which insured that Truman's controversial decision would stir up a "firestorm of protest" across the country.

Controversy has also been a regular companion to any discussion of the U.S. declaration of war on Mexico in 1846. The right of the United States to expand its borders across the continent, exerting its "manifest destiny," can still generate lively arguments among historians and American-history buffs. Here, however, we put the broader issues aside as Joseph E. Chance describes the practical problems faced by Generals Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott when the American troops under their command became the first to occupy a foreign land during the two-year Mexican War (page 48).

No provision had been made to hold soldiers or other Americans accountable to the law when, while in foreign countries, they committed crimes that would normally be tried by a civil court. The local Mexican courts did not want to try the American offenders for fear of retaliation, and the U.S. military tribunals had no authority to do so. General Taylor did his best to maintain order in northern Mexico, but it was General Scott, commanding in the central region, who finally gave the U.S. Army its first code of military justice for American troops in occupied territory.

And, as accustomed as we are today to women's participation in the Olympic Games, it may seem odd that another controversial topic in its day was whether or not America's female athletes should be allowed to compete in international track-and-field events. Caryne Brown examines the obstacles faced by the young women who made up the first female U.S. track team dispatched to the Olympics (page 42). Although the 19-member team brought home four medals from the Amsterdam Games in 1928, many Americans still opposed their participation, frowning as they did on the notion of women "playing to win" on the track field.

—Margaret Fortier

## AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXI No. 2

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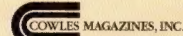
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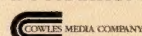
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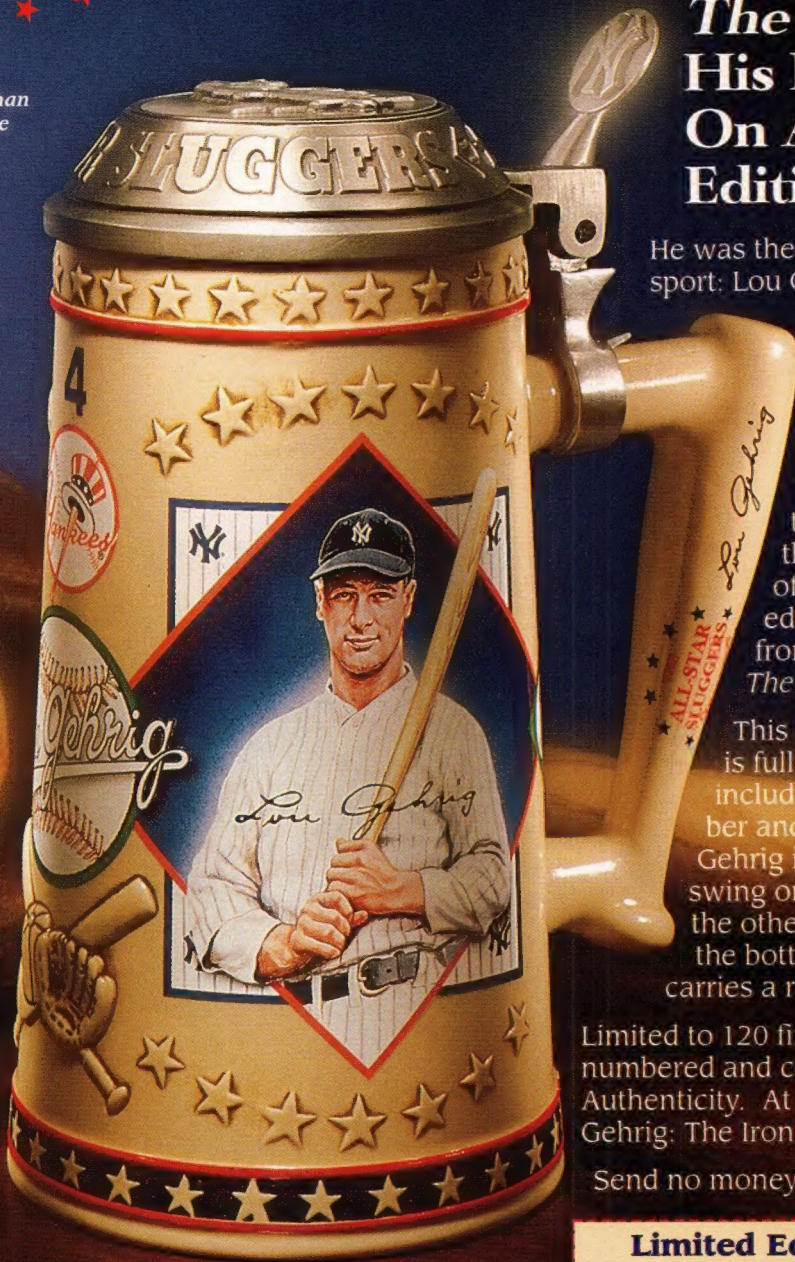
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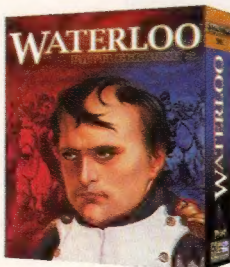
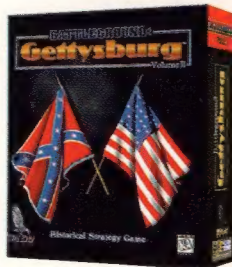
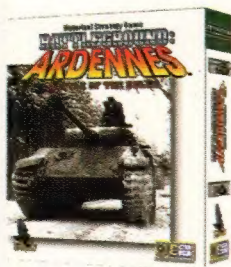
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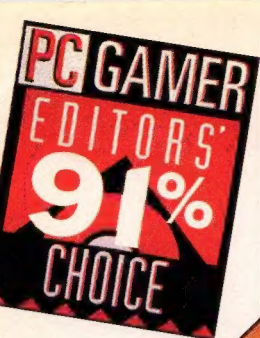


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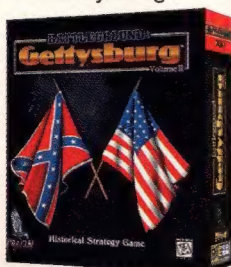
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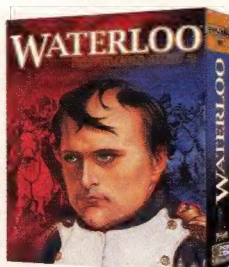
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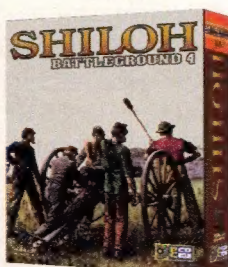
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# HISTORY TODAY

news of the past



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## 1896 TIME CAPSULE OPENED

A time capsule sealed one hundred years ago by 35 members of the Women's Centennial Commission (WCC) of Cleveland was opened during the city's recent bicentennial celebrations, revealing a variety of artifacts from the 1890s and a letter of greeting to "Women Unborn." The letter, signed by Mrs. Elroy M. Avery, chair of the WCC, poses a series of challenges and questions to the women of today. Noting nineteenth-century national, civic, and technological achievements, the women were curious to know if anyone in this century had succeeded in reaching the North Pole or inventing a flying machine. Obviously patriotic—"we are ready to defend [our country's flag] against all the world"—and dedicated to civic responsibility, the women wondered about the commitment of their counterparts of today to such values. They conclude their message by declaring: "Standing by this casket soon to be sealed, we of today try to fix our vision on you, who, a century hence, shall stand by it as we now do. . . . [B]ut before [the vision] ends and we fade into the

past, we would send up our earnest prayer for our country, our state, our city, and for you." A time capsule from the women of 1996 to their sisters at the end of the twenty-first century is currently being planned.

Time capsules from 1921, 1946, and 1971—created every 25 years since 1896 by the descendants of the original commission—have also been opened. Their contents—personal letters, programs from local organizations, newspaper articles, and photographs—join the centennial capsule on display in "A Century of Safekeeping," an exhibit at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland until December 31. For more information call 216-721-5722.

## CIVIL WAR COMPUTER PROGRAM TESTED AT NATIONAL PARKS

The Civil War Trust, in cooperation with the National Park Service and assisted by The History Channel, has developed the Civil War Discovery System (CWDS), an interactive, multimedia computer database designed to stimulate interest in and promote understand-

ing of the Civil War. The CWDS will eventually be installed in Civil War-related national and state park visitor centers and at historic sites on the Trust's Civil War Discovery Trail (see "History Today," July/August 1995 issue) across the country, but will first be tested, beginning in May, at Gettysburg National Military Park in Pennsylvania; Sharpsburg, Maryland's Antietam National Battlefield; and the Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park in Arkansas. The system will be made available to schools this fall.

The program utilizes vintage photographs, maps, historic documents, video footage, music, and narrative to relate the war's history. User-friendly, touch-sensitive screens provide access to program menu selections that fall under six main topics: "The Big Picture" places the conflict in its nineteenth-century context; "The Civil War World" offers an encyclopedic series of war-related topics ranging from artillery to Zouaves; "On This Date" highlights day-by-day happenings during the war years; "Specific Site" spotlights individual battlefields or sites of special significance; "Soldier Records" gives access to the service records and, when available, photographs and personal papers of men who fought in the war; and "Preserving Battlefields" points out how development threatens historic battlefields and offers suggestions on how to help in the preservation effort.

## DOUBTS ABOUT JESSE JAMES LAID TO REST

Mitochondrial DNA analysis of bone fragments and hair samples extracted from the remains of Jesse James (1842-1882) have confirmed "beyond a shadow of a doubt" that the Confederate guerrilla and legendary outlaw, who met a violent end, has indeed been the man buried beneath the James headstone in a Kearney, Missouri, cemetery. James's body was exhumed for testing last year by a team of scientists led by James E. Starrs, a professor of law and forensic science at The George Washington Univer-





sity in Washington, D.C., for the purpose of putting to rest lingering doubts, inspired after his death by persistent impostors, about the identity of the body

contained in the grave. The testing also contradicted the common belief that, near the end of his life, James had been driven by his numerous, painful wounds and injuries to ingest narcotics.

Five-hundred people, including all six of James's great grandchildren, attended a standing-room-only funeral service prior to the reinterment of his remains in the Mount Olivet Cemetery last October. Starrs and other James historians acted as pallbearers. The coffin was carried to the cemetery by a vintage, horse-drawn hearse, with an honor guard provided by Confederate Civil War reenactors. This was the third burial accorded James; originally interred in the yard of the family's farm, his body was moved to Mount Olivet in 1902.

## STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND SYMPOSIUM

Nebraska's Offutt Air Force Base is hosting during May 15-17 "Strategic Air Command: America's Cold War Shield," a symposium to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Strategic Air Command (SAC). The branch of the U.S. Air Force equipped to carry out long-range bombing—including nuclear attacks—anywhere in the world, SAC played a key role as a deterrent to armed confrontation with the United States during the Cold War years. The symposium, part of a six-month-long series of events marking the anniversary, will feature both academic papers and presentations by SAC veterans on the command's operational history. Keynote speaker for the symposium, which will deal with such topics as Offensive Planning, Nuclear

Weapons Development, Air Refueling, Bomber Policy, the Missile Age, and Strategic Reconnaissance, is former SAC commander in chief, General Bruce K. Holloway, USAF(ret.). For more information call 402-554-3793.

## OJIBWE MUSEUM REOPENS

On May 18, the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) will open the Mille Lacs Indian Museum, an institution dedicated to the history and contemporary life of the region's Ojibwes. Crammed for more than thirty years into a small, cinder-block building, the museum, located in Onamia on the shores of Lake Mille Lacs, now enjoys a new 22,810-square-foot facility. Text—in Ojibwe and English—accompanying the revamped interactive exhibits relates the history of the band since its settlement in northern Minnesota centuries ago. Developed with the aid of an advisory group from the local Mille Lacs community, the displays document the tribe's economic development, explore its rights of sovereignty and self governance, and feature ceremonial dress and other traditional Ojibwe artifacts. A visitor-favorite from the old museum—the "Four Seasons Room," with its life-size dioramas depicting traditional seasonal activities of the tribe—has been reinstalled in the



new building, which also houses a research library, a crafts room, and classrooms for educational programs. For more information call 320-532-3632.

## 175TH ANNIVERSARY OF SANTA FE TRAIL

For 42 consecutive evenings beginning on June 3, the Kansas State Historical Society and Kansas chapters of the Santa Fe Trail Association will sponsor a series of programs honoring the 1821 opening of the Santa Fe Trail, the eight-hundred-mile route that began in Independence, Missouri, and served until 1880 as the East's primary link to the American Southwest. Each evening's program of lectures, dramatic and musical performances, or craft and cooking demonstrations will be offered at or near actual Trail campsites. Some of the scheduled events will relate directly to the host site, while others will address broader aspects of Trail history such as Native-American perspectives, food preparation or medical practices along the Trail, or military involvement. All events are free to the public, except for occasions when meals are offered. For more information call 913-272-8681.

## U.S. COAST GUARD LEAVES GOVERNOR'S ISLAND

In a move designed to save an estimated \$30 million annually, the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG) is closing its largest base, situated on historic Governor's Island in the middle of New York Harbor, and relocating operations required for the New York area to other harbor sites. Reportedly purchased in 1637 by a Dutch governor general from local Indians for "two axe heads, a string of beads, and some iron nails," the 175-acre Governor's Island is the oldest continuously operated military post in the United States. During the Civil War, it served as a recruiting depot and a prison for Confederate officers. At various times since then, it has been a training center for pilots, a major point of embarkation for troops destined for France during World





GOVERNOR'S ISLAND IN NEW YORK HARBOR

UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

War I, and a supply depot. In 1966, the U.S. Army turned the island over to the USCG for use as the headquarters of its eastern region and of the 3rd Coast Guard District. Future plans for the island and the six buildings designated as historic landmarks by New York City are as yet undetermined.

### ROHNA MEMORIAL

The 1,015 American troops who died when the HMT *Rohna* went down in the Mediterranean after being struck by a German guided missile during World War II (see "World War II's Secret Disaster" in the July/August 1994 issue), will receive long-overdue recognition when a memorial in their honor is dedicated on May 30 at the Fort Mitchell National Cemetery at Seale, Alabama. The two-foot-high, gray granite memorial, installed in the cemetery's "Walk of Honor," will bear a bronze plaque engraved with a tribute to the lost men. The campaign for the memorial was sponsored by the Rohna Survivors Memorial Association and spearheaded by survivor John P. Fievet, who has been tireless in his efforts to see that the incident "takes its rightful place in history."

On November 26, 1943, the British troopship *Rohna*, with 1981 U.S. servicemen aboard, was part of a convoy that was attacked by German aircraft shortly after leaving the Algerian port of El Khebir. The bodies of more than eight hundred men killed that day were never recovered. Although the tragedy

represented the largest loss of American lives at sea during the war, security considerations resulted in news of the incident being suppressed by military authorities at the time and remaining classified for decades after. As a result, many of the victims' families have only recently learned how their loved ones died.

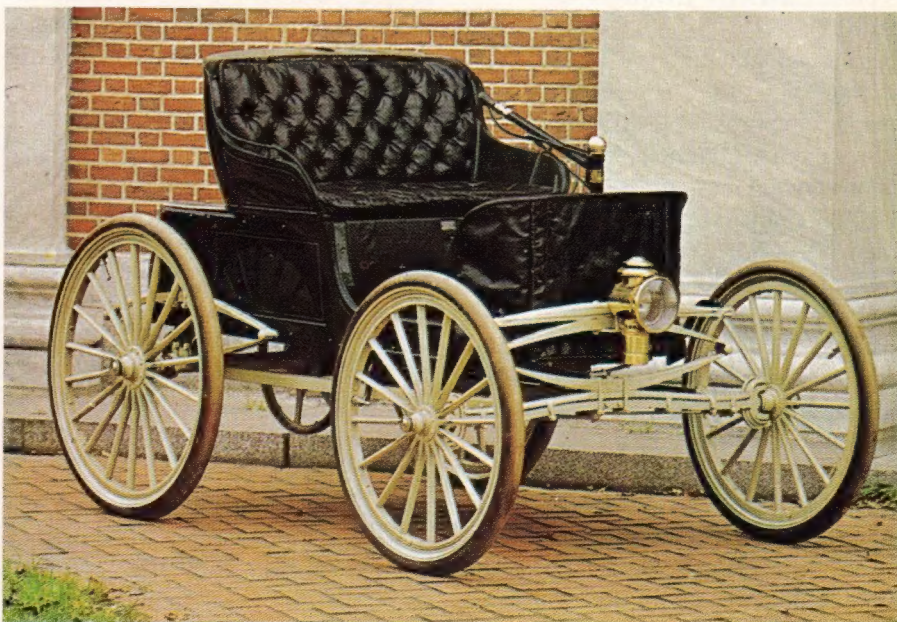
### 100 YEARS OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY

Detroit and nearby Dearborn, Michigan, will host several of the events planned across the country this year to celebrate the centennial of the first American "automobile company" which was established in Springfield, Massachusetts by brothers Charles E. (1861-1938) and J. Frank Duryea (1869-1967). Centerpiece for the celebration is Automobile Centennial Week, June 15-23. Highlights of the special week, organized by the American Automobile Centennial Commission, include a "Motor Muster" parade-in-review of five hundred vintage vehicles at the Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village in Dearborn; antique automobile shows in Dearborn and West Livonia; a gala dinner and festival in Detroit; and the "Great American Cruise-

In," a cross-country invitation for classic and antique-car owners to drive their vehicles to "the automobile capital of the world" for what is hoped will be the largest gathering of such vehicles in U.S. history. From July 29 to August 3, Dearborn will also host the Crown Victoria Association Auto Show & National Convention, and the grand opening of the Automotive Hall of Fame, is scheduled there for the fall. For more information call 1-800-DETROIT.

### PLAY BALL

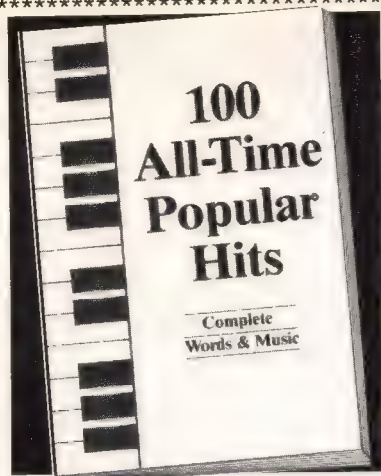
On June 29, visitors to the Guthrie Museum Complex in Oklahoma can watch a baseball game played as it would have been in 1878. The city's civic groups, outfitted with historically appropriate uniforms and equipment, will meet on the field and play according to rules in force more than a century ago. The 1878 rules—including the underhand pitch, the batter's choice of high or low pitching, and a split-grip batting stance—as well as the costuming have been thoroughly researched by Past Ball, Inc. of Oklahoma City, which is also providing the uniforms. For more information call 405-282-1889. ★



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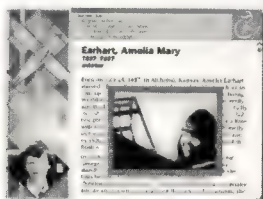


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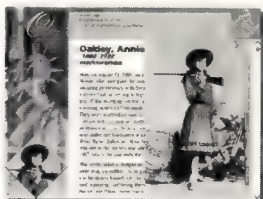
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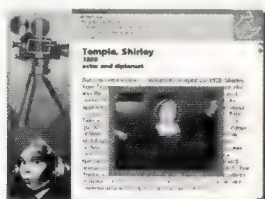
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### THE MOST HORRID DETAIL

Of all the horrible details of the "Texas City Disaster" brilliantly recounted by Professor John Ferling in the January/February 1996 issue, the most horrendous was "By evening, the army had established field kitchens—one for whites, another for blacks."

Even amid death, carnage, and hunger, the madness of segregation continued.

Thomas E. Range  
Yardley, Pennsylvania

### "SHOT HEARD

#### 'ROUND THE WORLD" EMERSON'S

Ralph Waldo Emerson, not Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, is the source of the phrase, "shot heard 'round the world," quoted in "The First to Die" [March/April 1996 issue]. Emerson composed the lines for a hymn that was sung on July 4, 1837 at the completion of the Concord monument.

Norm Ledgin  
Stilwell, Kansas

### DEFENSE WANTED SLOW TRIAL

To add to Peter B. Cook's fine account of the trials of Generals Yamashita Tomoyuki and Homma Masaharu [March/April 1996 issue]—In 1951, as a lieutenant, junior grade, I was attached to the Navy's Bureau of Information working on the "Victory at Sea" TV series. Also attached was a Commander Barracks, USNR, a pre-war journalist who in 1945 had been attached to the Yamashita defense team as an interpreter.

Barracks recounted how it had been obvious that General MacArthur was railroading both men to a death sentence, and the defense tactics included deliberate efforts to slow the trial process as long as possible in the forlorn hope public opinion and the media might take umbrage at the essential illegitimacies of the procedure. To that end, Barracks made heavy use of translation

problems in the questioning of Japanese witnesses. The prosecution would put questions like "Is it not true that had you not received the order by Wednesday you would not have left Manila?" Barracks would explain at great length that the double negative interrogative did not exist in Japanese grammar, then demand the question be rephrased. He claimed to have won at least three days grace by continued use of such tactics.

Donald R. Morris  
Houston, Texas

### CURTIS SALESMEN STILL ACTIVE

Regarding "Training School for Boys" in the March/April 1996 issue of *American History*—years ago, the Curtis company changed direction and went into magazine distribution. They currently handle all Cowles titles, including *American History*. Many of the field representatives active today were once "Curtis boys." Their ethic to work hard and increase magazine sales is still very strong and working!

John Morthanos,  
Director of Retail Sales  
Stamford, Connecticut

### FAMINE ARTICLE RIVETING

Thank you for the riveting article, "The Great Famine," [March/April 1996 issue] by Edward Oxford. It was most interesting to learn the reason why I am here in the United States with the other 44 million Americans of Irish descent.

Malcolm Mitchell  
Portola Valley, California

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The editors welcome comments from our readers. We endeavor to publish a representative sampling of correspondence but regret that limited space prevents us from printing every letter. Address correspondence to "Mailbox," *American History*, Box 8200, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17105. ★



## HISTORY BOOKSHELF

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### ANSEL ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE

by Jonathan Spaulding (University of California Press, 524 pages, \$34.95). In this comprehensive biography, Spaulding recounts the life of Ansel Adams (1902-1984), one of the outstanding photographers of this century. The text is interspersed with a selection of Adams's works, including his western-American landscapes and his studies of Japanese Americans interned at Manzanar Relocation Center in California, during World War II.

### HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE VIETNAM WAR

by Harry G. Summers, Jr. (Houghton Mifflin Company, 224 pages, \$39.95). With the aid of 100 color maps and 150 color and black and white photographs, Summers, the editor of *Vietnam* magazine and one of the last Americans to leave Saigon in 1975, provides an extensive history of the war in Vietnam, analyzing the reasons for America's involvement and its subsequent failure to achieve victory. An overview of Vietnam's history, geography, culture, and people demonstrates how the stage was set for the conflict to which the U.S. first sent combat troops in 1965. The atlas provides visual records of the major battles, an evaluation of military and politi-

cal strategy, and a detailed examination of the antiwar movement in the United States.

### DRIVIN' ROUTE 66: AMERICA'S MAIN STREET

(Creative Multimedia, \$19.95). The nostalgia connected with Route 66, the famous highway linking Chicago and Los Angeles, is captured in this CD-ROM (Macintosh and Windows) program, which offers a travel planner featuring contemporary information about the route; a color-coded map with references to sites along the way; photographs of 38 classic American cars from the 1930s to the '70s; and a twenty-minute documentary of the road's history.

### THE SMITHSONIAN: 150 YEARS OF ADVENTURE, DISCOVERY, AND WONDER

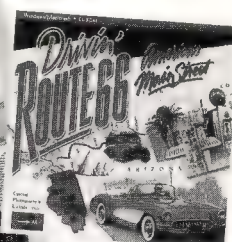
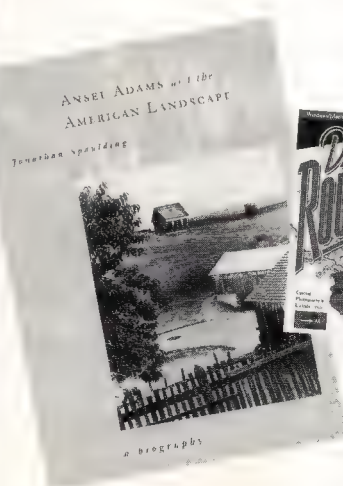
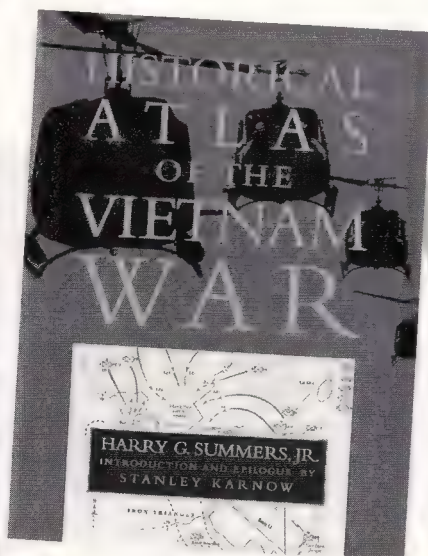
by James Conaway (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc./Smithsonian Books, 432 pages, \$60.00). The establishment of America's national museum, the Smithsonian Institution, in 1846 originated with a bequest from James Smithson (1765-1829), an Englishman who, though he never set foot on American soil, left the

bulk of his fortune "to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name to [sic.] the Smithsonian Institution, an Establishment for the increase & diffusion of knowledge among men." This handsome volume, which features anecdotes, profiles, and more than five hundred illustrations, chronicles the inception and development of the Smithsonian, which now encompasses 18 bureaus and is the custodian of 140 million objects that include the 45.5-carat Hope Diamond, the original flag that inspired the "Star-Spangled Banner," and the 1903 Wright "Flyer."

### THROUGH INDIAN EYES: THE UNTOLD STORY OF NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLES

(Reader's Digest Books, 400 pages, \$40.00). This lavishly illustrated book traces the history of North America through the eyes of its indigenous peoples. The world of Native Americans—from the first Asian migrants at the end of the ice age to the recent attempts to reclaim native cultural heritage and reestablish treaty rights—is recreated with the aid of more than 550 color illustrations that include period and modern photographs, paintings, specially commissioned artists' recreations, and detailed maps, and is enlivened with quotations from native people, past and present.

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**POCAHONTAS: HER TRUE STORY**  
(A&E Home Video, 50 minutes, \$19.95). The extraordinary life of the daughter of the Indian chief Powhatan is well chronicled in this video presentation. Although she is best known for saving the life of Captain John Smith, Pocahontas (1595?-1617) also helped maintain peace between Native Americans and the first English settlers in Virginia. The video goes beyond the simple, well-known tales to recall the real story of this fascinating woman who, as ambassador, stateswoman, peacemaker, and friend, fulfilled many roles during her short life.

**BRAVING THE ELEMENTS:  
THE STORMY HISTORY OF  
AMERICAN WEATHER**

by David Laskin (Doubleday, 256 pages, \$23.95). The history of weather in North America is filled with disaster stories; blizzards, floods, hurricanes, and droughts that have changed people's lives in a dramatic fashion. This well-researched study recounts—with the aid of striking photographs and interviews with meteorologists and weather forecasters—how Americans have coped with the drama ever since the first inhabitants became trapped here some 12,000 years ago when melting glacial ice submerged the flat land bridge that had linked North America with their home continent of Asia.

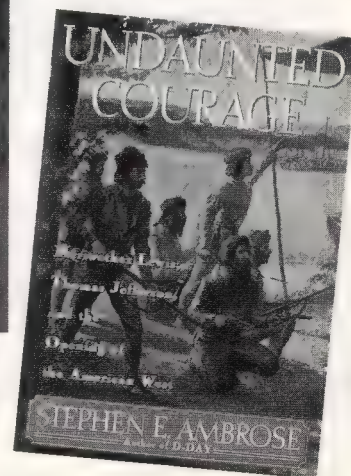
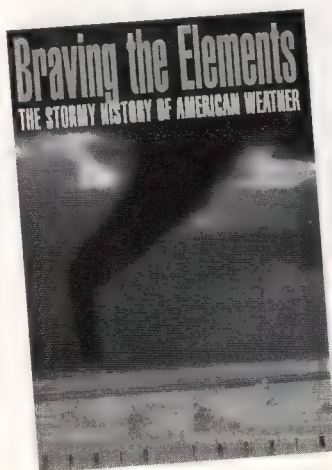
**OUR TIMES: THE ILLUSTRATED  
HISTORY OF THE 20TH CENTURY**  
edited by Lorraine Glennon *et al.* (Turner Publishing, Inc., 713 pages, \$65.00). This massive, comprehensive volume reveals,

through 2,500 photographs, paintings, maps, diagrams, and charts, the pivotal events of this century. Topics covered include such twentieth-century front-page stories as the unveiling of Henry Ford's Model T in 1908; the sinking of the RMS *Titanic* in 1912; Charles A. Lindbergh's solo crossing of the Atlantic by airplane in 1927; the stock market crash of 1929; Neil Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin's 1969 walk on the moon; and the explosion that rocked New York City's World Trade Center in 1993.

**UNDAUNTED COURAGE:  
MERIWETHER LEWIS, THOMAS  
JEFFERSON, AND THE OPENING  
OF THE AMERICAN WEST**

by Stephen E. Ambrose (Simon & Schuster, 511 pages, \$27.50). A noted historian, Ambrose draws on diaries and manuscripts to reconstruct the expedition that in 1804-06 took Captain Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and his party—dubbed the "Corps of Discovery"—across the uncharted land that lay between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Northwest. During the mission, undertaken at the request of President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) following the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, Lewis, his partner—Captain William Clark (1770-1838)—and some thirty other men endured many hardships, encountered Indian tribes that had no previous contact with white men, and gained an appreciation for the vastness of this land, yet brought Jefferson the disappointing news that there was no all-water route to the Pacific Ocean, that the central plains were exceedingly dry, and that the Plains Indians would resist white settlement.

*continued on page 56*





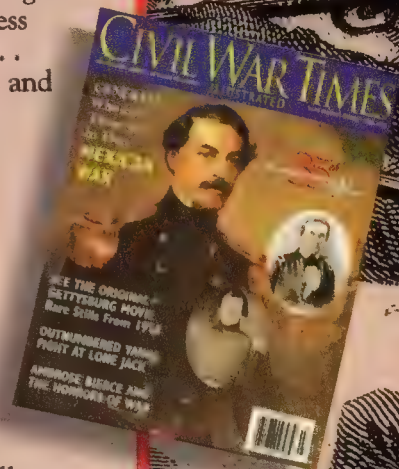
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# AMERICAN COOKERY

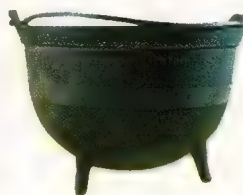




BY CLAIRE HOPLEY THE COOKBOOK PUBLISHED BY AMELIA SIMMONS IN 1796 WAS THE FIRST TO OFFER HOUSEWIVES ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC RECIPES CALLING FOR INGREDIENTS NATIVE TO NORTH AMERICA.



IN 1739, JOHN CLAYTON, an English botanist then in America, wrote to a friend back home “desirous of knowing the Diversion of Hunting and Shooting” in the colonies that in addition to “all the tame domestick Beasts and Fowls” common in England, one could find here a “great Variety of wild ones as Deer in great Pleanty, Bears, Buffaloes, Wolves, Foxes, Panthers, Wild Cats, Elks, Hares . . . , Squirrels 3 or 4 Sorts, Raccoons, Opposums, Beavers, Otters, Musk Rats, Pole Cats, [and] Minks . . . Then for Fowls, wild Turkey’s very numerous, Partridges (the Size and Colour of y<sup>r</sup> Quails), wild Geese, Swans, black Ducks, Plover 2 or 3 Sorts, Soris (a delicious eating Bird in Shape and Way of Living like y<sup>r</sup> Water Rails), Heath Fowls (called here improperly Pheasants) 2 Sorts, wild Pidgeons in prodigious great Flocks, . . . Eagles, Larks 2 Sorts of w<sup>ch</sup> are here all the Year round, are as big as Quails, the other are seen only in Winter and are much like your Lark.”



In enumerating the fauna native to North America, Clayton had only scratched the surface. Indeed, the settlers who carved a home in the New World during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries came face to face with a bewildering variety of game, fish, waterfowl, and plants not found in England and Europe. As a scientist—and perhaps as a sportsman—Clayton undoubtedly found this variety thrilling. Housewives, on the

By the end of the eighteenth century, housewives in America had become expert at adapting English and European recipes to suit their needs. Nonetheless, the publication of Amelia Simmons’s cookbook in 1796, the first written with the ingredients and conditions found in North America in mind, was well received by busy cooks.

THE GRANGER COLLECTION; INSET ABOVE: OLD STURBRIDGE VILLAGE



## FANNIE FARMER'S COOKBOOK

In addition to marking the bicentennial of Amelia Simmons's *American Cookery*, this year is the one-hundredth anniversary of Fannie Merritt Farmer's revered *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*, still available today as *The Fannie Farmer Cookbook*.

Born in Boston in 1857, Farmer (top) had to abandon her plans for college when, at the age of 16, she suffered a "paralytic stroke." Although her illness left her with a permanent limp, Farmer recovered sufficiently to help her mother run the family's boarding-house. She developed such an interest in the preparation of meals that at the age of thirty, she enrolled in the Boston Cooking School.



CULINARY ARCHIVES & MUSEUM

After graduating in 1889, Farmer served as assistant to the principal and then principal of the cooking school. She resigned in 1902 to open Miss Farmer's School of Cookery (bottom), where she offered courses designed for housewives, which concentrated on the practical aspects of cookery. Her popular weekly demonstrations at the school were reported in newspapers across the country.

Farmer, whose aim was to raise cookery to the level of a science and an art, wished that her popular cookbook "not only be looked upon as a compilation of tried and tested recipes, but that it may awaken an interest through its condensed scientific knowledge which will lead to deeper thought and broader study of what to eat." The success of the book lay in its simplicity. Instructions were easy enough for a novice to follow and measurements were—for the first time in any cookbook—accurate.

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In 1896, the original publisher of the cookbook—Little, Brown and Company—considered the project an uncertain undertaking and insisted that Farmer pay the printing costs. Now in its thirteenth revised edition, it has been translated into several languages and has sold more than four million copies. ★



CULINARY ARCHIVES & MUSEUM

other hand, forced to prepare meals for their families from totally unfamiliar ingredients, probably would have used other words to describe the daunting challenge they faced.

In a land whose shores teemed with wildlife and edible plants, many of the earliest colonial settlements, when supply ships failed to arrive in good time, suffered the ravages of famine, in large measure due to the inhabitants' ignorance of what was good for eating or what could be grown in this strange land. The Pilgrims who arrived in 1620 would not have survived their first year at Plymouth had not the Indians they encountered taught them to cultivate corn.

For most colonists, trial and error or the experiences of those who had arrived before them were the best teachers. Many were able to adapt old family recipes or those found in cookbooks carried across the ocean. However, these guides, published in England or other home countries, often called for unobtainable ingredients such as skirrets (a vegetable related to carrots), broom buds, or the many small birds so popular on eighteenth-century English tables. More importantly, they contained no hints on how to make use of the plants and wildlife that could be found locally.

Then, in the spring of 1796, a Hartford, Connecticut, printer produced the first authentic American cookbook, entitled: *American Cookery, or the Art of Dressing Viands, Fish, Poultry and Vegetables, and the Best Modes of Making Pastes, Puffs, Pies, Tarts, Puddings, Custards and Preserves, and All Kinds of Cakes from the Imperial Plumb to Plain Cake*. Written by an unknown author by the name of Amelia Simmons, this small book with a long title was bound in paper, with only 47 octavo pages, and sold for just two shillings and threepence.

Modest though it was, *American Cookery* made culinary history, and the key to its significance lay in the simple description that immediately followed the title: "Adapted to This Country and All Grades of Life." No previous cookbook could make this claim. Simmons was the first author to address the needs of American women cooking in American conditions and using American ingredients.

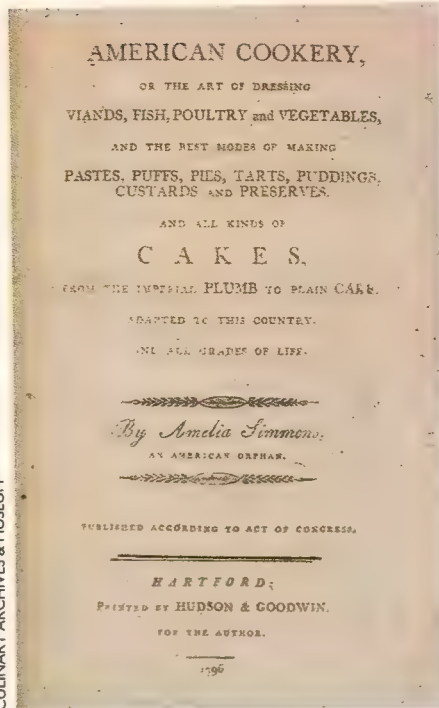
To be sure, another book, a 1742 American edition of E. Smith's *Compleat Housewife*, attempted to deal with this



problem by including only recipes that were "useful and practicable" on this side of the Atlantic. But until Simmons wrote *American Cookery*, no one had tackled the most crucial failing of available English cookbooks, which was that they took no account of American foods such as corn, cranberries, watermelons, turtle, squash, or Jerusalem artichokes. Simmons, in setting to work to fill such gaps, gave no less than five recipes for cornmeal—one for "Johnny Cake or Hoe Cake," one for "Indian Slapjack," and three for "Indian Pudding."

While she included many recipes for such English staples as meat pies, custards, puddings, trifle, and fruit cakes—still as popular in newly independent America as in the country of their origin—she also offered many distinctively American variations. Three of the recipes for gingerbread, for example, would produce a biscuit hard enough to challenge the sturdiest teeth; this was a typical English gingerbread of that time. But Simmons also offered a recipe called "Soft Gingerbread" that was baked in pans and required three pounds of sugar, two pounds of butter, four pounds of

CULINARY ARCHIVES &amp; MUSEUM



Only 47 pages in length, Simmons's 1796 paper-bound cookbook contained five recipes that called for cornmeal, as well as current American favorites, such as a soft, cake-like gingerbread, a custardy pumpkin pie, and a buttery Christmas cookie.

flour, twenty eggs, four ounces of ginger, and one glass of rosewater. The recipe clearly was the first to resemble modern cake-like gingerbread.

Among Simmons's puddings was a recipe called "Pompkin." A mixture of pumpkin, cream, eggs, and spices to be baked in a pastry shell, it was, in fact, not a pudding, but what Americans would come to know as a "pumpkin pie." Previous recipes for pumpkin pie had called for layering the pumpkin with apples or sometimes meat, and baking it with two crusts.

Not only was Simmons first with the pie that was to become an American Thanksgiving essential, she was also first with a recipe for a "Christmas Cookey." This treat was more buttery than her other recipe for cookies and was flavored with a luxurious tea cup of powdered coriander seed. And once the mixture was rolled out, it could be cut "into [the] shape and size you please."

Like all cooks of her era, Simmons was concerned about preserving food for winter. So among her minced-pie recipes was a "Foot Pie" filled with calves' feet, continued on page 65

## AMERICAN HISTORY

## AMERICAN HISTORY

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# WALTER WELLMAN'S POLAR OBSESSION

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"The quest of the North Pole—and the South Pole—is a law of gravity within man," Walter Wellman wrote in his book *Aerial Age*, published in 1911, two years after Robert Peary and Matthew Henson became the first to reach the top of the world. "It is the all-compelling instinct to know all of the unknown . . . everywhere and as to everything, from the planets to atoms, man wants to know, feels that he must know."

Certainly, Wellman felt that he "must know." Between 1894 and 1909, most of his waking hours were consumed with four ultimately unsuccessful attempts—two by land and two by air—to reach the North Pole. Then, when that feat had been accomplished by others, he set out in 1910 to be the first to fly from west to east across the Atlantic Ocean, not just for the adventure, but to prove that the new-fangled flying machines could be made to serve a utilitarian purpose. "My plan and effort," he explained, "were to take the progress that had been made in the aeronautic art and so adapt, develop and specialize it, that it could be made to achieve something in the world's work apart from mere experimentation in aeronautics alone."

In 1884, Ohio-born Wellman went to work as a Washington correspondent and political reporter for the *Chicago Herald*



*Although married and the father of five daughters, journalist Walter Wellman (above) spent much of his time between 1894 and 1909 pursuing his ambition to be the first to reach the North Pole, first by foot and then by air in his huge, powered airship, the America. His quest for the pole ended when the America (shown, right, hovering above its 210-foot-long hangar at Camp Wellman on Spitsbergen in 1907), was lost to a hydrogen-gas explosion in 1909.*

(later the *Chicago Record-Herald*). Ever since 1871, when the *New York Herald* had sent Henry Morton Stanley off to Africa in search of Scottish explorer David Livingstone, newspapers had taken to underwriting expeditions to remote, poten-

tially newsworthy areas of the world as a way to boost circulation. Victor Lawson, the multi-millionaire publisher of the *Chicago Record-Herald*, craved the excitement and profits reaped by the New York newspaper as a result of its exclusive handling of the Stanley-Livingstone story. So in 1891, Lawson asked Wellman to go to the Bahamas to pin-point—for the following year's quadricentennial anniversary—the site of Christopher Columbus's New World landfall.

Wellman, after traveling to the islands, maintained that he had, through exploration and deduction, found the very spot where the explorer had come ashore. Pleased with the circulation boost afforded by serial reading of Wellman's reports for the paper, Lawson asked him to think about another expedition.

Wellman's thoughts turned immediately to the idea of reaching the North Pole, which would be an even more newsworthy subject than his Bahamas trip. "To reach the North Pole," he later wrote, "was the last really great thing to be done in working out the destiny of man to explore, conquer, and know all the earth that was given to him to live upon and rule."

Located at 90° north latitude, the vast polar region remained unconquered because of the difficulty involved in crossing the jagged surface of the shifting polar

BROWN BROTHERS









Wellman's first aerial expedition to the North Pole in 1906-07 was sanctioned by the National Geographic Society (NGS). Ever the Victorian gentleman when not slogging his way through ice and snow, Wellman is shown with Major Henry B. Hersey (right), a former member of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders, a meteorologist, and the representative of the NGS who was in charge of building the base camp for the expedition at Camp Wellman.

ice pack afloat on the Arctic Ocean. In 1827, British explorer, Captain W. E. Parry had traveled over sea ice, reaching latitude 82°45' N. This record held until 1884, when Lieutenant J. B. Lockwood, part of an American meteorological expedition, bettered it by about thirty miles.

Scientist and explorer Fridtjof Nansen sailed for the Arctic in 1893. His ship, the *Fram*, did not make it to the Pole, but two members of his party left the ship and reached latitude 86°14' N by sledge before they were forced to turn back.

That same year, Wellman traveled to Norway to consult with those familiar with the waters around the islands of Spitsbergen, lying between the 76th and 81st parallels of north latitude in true Arctic country. Encouraged by what he learned, Wellman concluded that he could be the first man to reach the Pole. And he would write exclusively about it for the newspaper that generously funded his expedition.

The *Chicago Record-Herald* agreed,

and Wellman went to Norway in the spring of 1894. He chartered an ice-steamer, the *Ragnvold Jarl*, built three portable aluminum boats, and assembled special sledges and other equipment that would be needed by his party during their expedition.

Ignoring a warning that it was too early in the year to attempt to reach Spitsbergen by ship, Wellman, three American companions, and an array of Norwegian scientists, athletes, and sailors experienced in dealing with Arctic ice set sail on April 30 from Alesund, Norway. They enjoyed open seas and were able to reach Spitsbergen in good time. Anchoring at Walden Island to the north, they set up a supply depot and began their trek north. The expedition had not gone far when a storm swept through. Great masses of ice cut into the hull of the *Ragnvold Jarl* "as you stick the tines of a fork through an egg-shell . . ."

When notified of what had happened, Wellman and his crew salvaged what they could and stubbornly continued their march to the North Pole. The storm, however, had rendered the ice surface so uneven that passage by sledge was impossible. The men shot the sledge dogs, rather than see them starve, and continued on. But a spring thaw was causing the ice to melt, forcing the party to push their aluminum boats through thick slush. Cold, wet, and exhausted, they finally headed back to Walden.

After resting, Wellman and his party boarded their aluminum boats and the lifeboats salvaged from the *Ragnvold Jarl* and attempted to head back to civilization. Buffeted by storms and drift ice, they made their way to open water, where they were picked up by a sealing vessel that carried them back to Norway.

It was during this adventure that Wellman first began to wish there were a way to reach the Pole by air and avoid the icy terrain that stood in the way. He even went so far as to go to Paris and investigate the possibilities offered by a free-flying, hot-air balloon. Before he could plan such an undertaking, however, Solomon August Andrée, a Swedish scientist, and two companions attempted to fly to the North Pole in a gigantic free balloon supposedly capable of staying aloft for a month. But the Swedish aeronauts vanished over the ice pack. On his return home, Wellman interested the *Chicago*

UPI/BETTMANN



*Record-Herald* in helping to underwrite a new adventure. He would go in search of the Andrée party.

But the journalist's luck had not changed. In October 1898, while walking unarmed at the base camp his party was establishing for this venture on Hall Island, north and east of Spitsbergen, he was attacked by a polar bear. Luckily for Wellman, the expedition's dogs encircled the bear until it could be shot. Afterward Wellman recalled that at the time he thought: "In another moment . . . he will have my head in his mouth." But Wellman suffered only an injured shoulder and a scratch on the neck, and the bear's skin became a rug in the Wellman home.

On February 10, 1899, the Wellman expedition began its overland trek. Then, on March 20—the day that Arctic travelers eagerly await because that is when the sun reaches the North Pole and begins six months of daylight in the region—Wellman was pushing a sledge that was stuck in the ice when he slipped and broke a shin bone. Furious and reckless, he ordered the expedition to proceed. But two days later, at about midnight, the members of the party "were aroused by the ominous sound of ice crushing against ice . . . In an instant all

five of us were outside the tent. We could see nothing. The storm had blown up again, and the air was filled with drifting snow . . . in two or three seconds there came another movement of the ice; another low, sullen rumbling sound."

The men panicked as a crack opened under their sleeping bags and they heard the sound of rushing water. One man ran out of the tent and stepped into an opening; ". . . no sooner had he withdrawn his leg than the crack closed like a vice, and with such force that the edges of the blocks were ground to fragments."

The ice quake destroyed a third of the expedition's stocks but probably saved the lives of Wellman and his party by forcing them to turn back to Hall Island. On their return journey, Wellman's injured leg became gangrenous. The physician at base camp managed to arrest the damage without amputation, but from then on, Wellman walked with a limp.

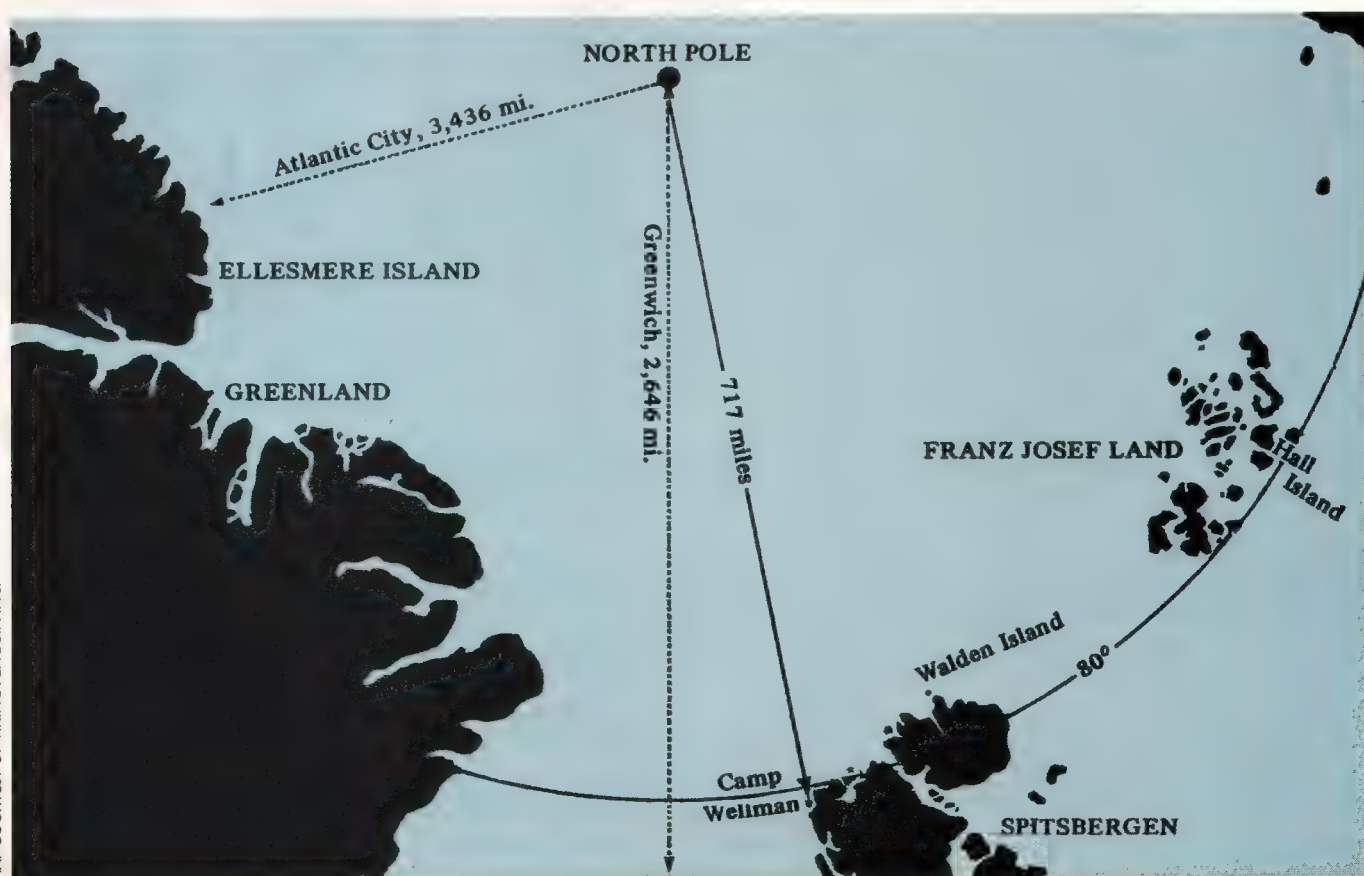
Although Wellman had not given up on reaching the North Pole, he took the next few years to regain his strength and his financial solvency, having invested heavily in the ill-fated expedition to find Andrée.\*

\*The frozen bodies of the Swedes were finally found in 1930.

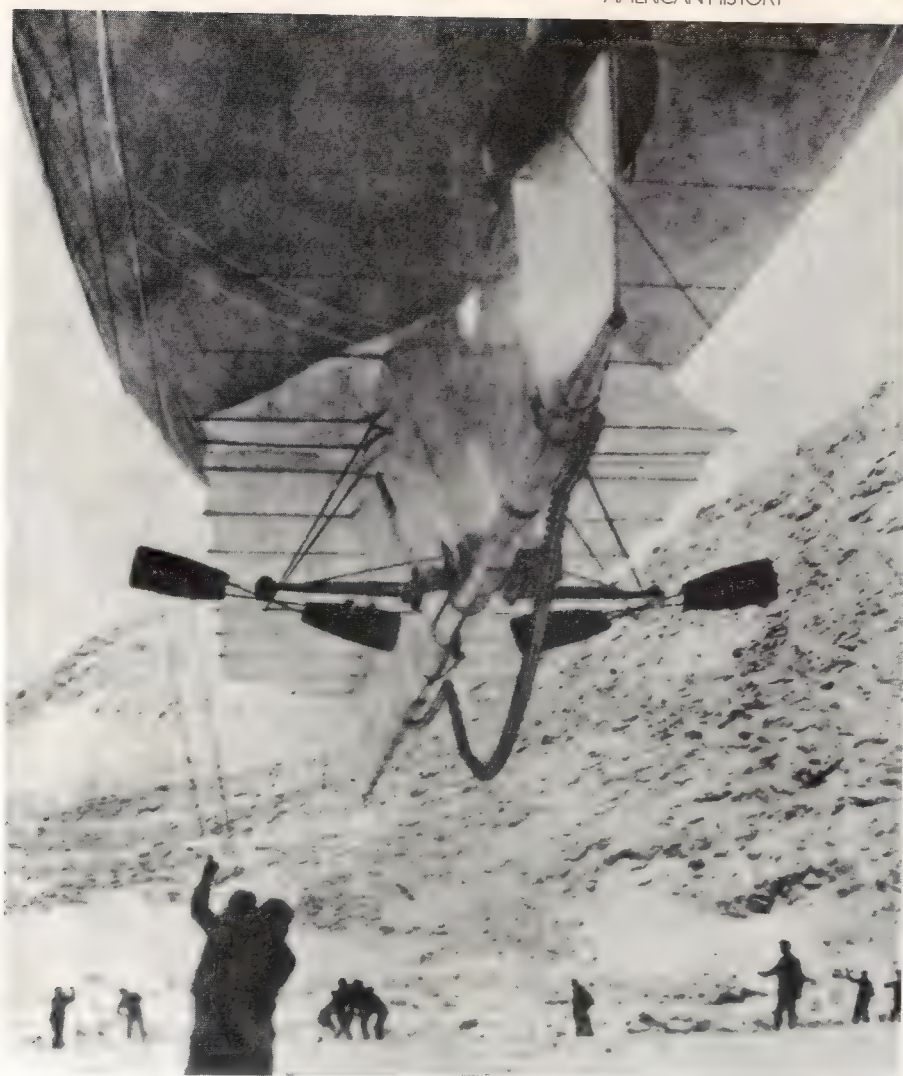
By 1905, Paul and Pierre Lebaudy of France had developed the semi-rigid motor balloon. Attached to the gasbag, which was reinforced within by a metal framework, were one or two gasoline engines, propellers, and a large, controlled swinging rudder. A cage below the bag carried the balloon's crew. This aerial marvel revived Wellman's polar obsession and with the North Pole still unconquered, he became determined that he would fly there!

With the backing again of the *Chicago Record-Herald*, and with the approval of the Board of Managers of the National Geographic Society, Wellman contracted Louis Godard, a well-known builder and aeronaut, to construct an airship in Paris that Wellman believed would take him to the North Pole. Several tons of equipment and provisions requisitioned from the United States—including timber, clothing; steel boats; pumping engines, a steam

*The islands of Spitsbergen, from which Wellman launched his polar expeditions, are located between the 76th and 81st parallels of north latitude off the coast of Greenland, some 717 miles from the North Pole. Formerly a whaling center, the islands once boasted a seasonal population of up to four thousand people.*







The equilibrator, the sausage-like device that could be made to trail beneath the ship to regulate its elevation, remained fastened as the ground crew helped to launch the *America* for Wellman's first attempt to fly to the Pole (above). Murray Simon, navigator on the airship's 1910 flight, stands near the craft's wheel in the narrow cage that hung below the hydrogen-filled balloon (center). The *America*'s chief engineer, Melvin Vaniman, is shown behind the arm that held one of the airship's two propellers; the first of their kind, these propellers could quickly be shifted to any angle (far right).

engine and boiler; lathes, drills and tools; thirty sledge dogs; and a large supply of malted milk from the Horlick company of Racine, Wisconsin—were transported across the Atlantic in July 1906 to the expedition's Spitsbergen base at Blubber-town. Renaming the site Camp Wellman, the expedition members set about building a hangar in which to house the airship.

The island's harsh climate and surface slowed construction of the huge hangar,

which measured 210 feet in length and 85 feet in both width and height. The delay, however, was unimportant, since the French-built airship itself, the *America*, was not ready. When an attempt was made to start her motors, the gears in the engine shattered and the propellers flew apart. Unable, as a result, to fly in 1906, Wellman returned to Europe, vowing to renew the crusade the following spring.

In Paris, Wellman employed Melvin Vaniman, a fellow American with previous aeronautical experience, to rebuild the *America* and "for the first time I could prepare designs and make plans with a reasonable degree of certainty that they would be executed." The *America* that emerged in 1907 from their collaboration was 185 feet in length, with a maximum diameter of 52 feet and a volume of 258,500 cubic feet. The gigantic *America* was second in size only to the motor balloon of Germany's Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin.

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



A seventy-horsepower engine chain linked to a pair of propellers moved *America* at speeds below 25 miles per hour. The open-air deck cage could carry a dozen dogs in addition to a small crew. Packages holding six hundred pounds of supplies were stored within reach, while the rest of the provisions were sleekly encased in the trailing, 1,200 pound, sausage-like coil of the equilibrator, a balancing device that would hang below the ship and was designed to control the craft's altitude. Characterized by Wellman as "ballast which may be used without losing it," the equilibrator could be employed whenever needed to regulate elevation.

Wellman believed that the *America* could fly for a week, but it carried sur-





BROWN BROTHERS

BROWN BROTHERS



vival gear—including dogs and sledges—and foodstuffs to sustain the travelers for months if they were forced down on the ice pack. But first they had to get started, and the Spitsbergen weather forbade it. Camp Wellman was savaged by gales, which blew down the hangar. Even after it was rebuilt and the *America* readied for flight, intolerable winds continued until September, too late for a prudent attempt toward the Pole.

On September 2, however, they towed the *America* out above the open bay for a trial run. The three aerial daredevils aboard—Captain Wellman; engineer Vaniman; and navigator Felix Reisenberg from Columbia University—jauntily cut the *America* loose from the vessel below and started her engine. “With a thrill of

joy,” the crew could see the “equilibrator swimming along in the water, its head in the air, much like a great sea-serpent.” Soon, however, wind “freshened from the northeast” and snow began to fall. The ship was being driven toward the mountainous coast as Vaniman increased the output of the engine. “Inch by inch,” Wellman recalled, “we fought our way past the mountains, one after another, clearing the last by only a few rods.” The Arctic Ocean spreading before them and being satisfied with the performance of the engine, Wellman gave the order to Reisenberg, who was at the wheel, to “head her north!”

But the snow squall blew harder. The *America*’s forward movement ceased, for it was pitifully underpowered to meet arctic elements. Pressed back toward the mountains, their vision hampered by the obscuring snow haze, the crew discovered that their compass had failed. Blindly, their airship control reflexes were tested as grim rock slopes loomed abruptly into view. Three times they “came up so near the mountains . . . that we thought all was over . . .” After two hours, the desperate crew glimpsed a broad glacier and decided to bring the ship down on its surface by cutting its bag with a knife and letting the gas rush out.

Help from Camp Wellman was not long in arriving. After the three men were rescued, workmen were dispatched from the camp to salvage the gasbag, in-

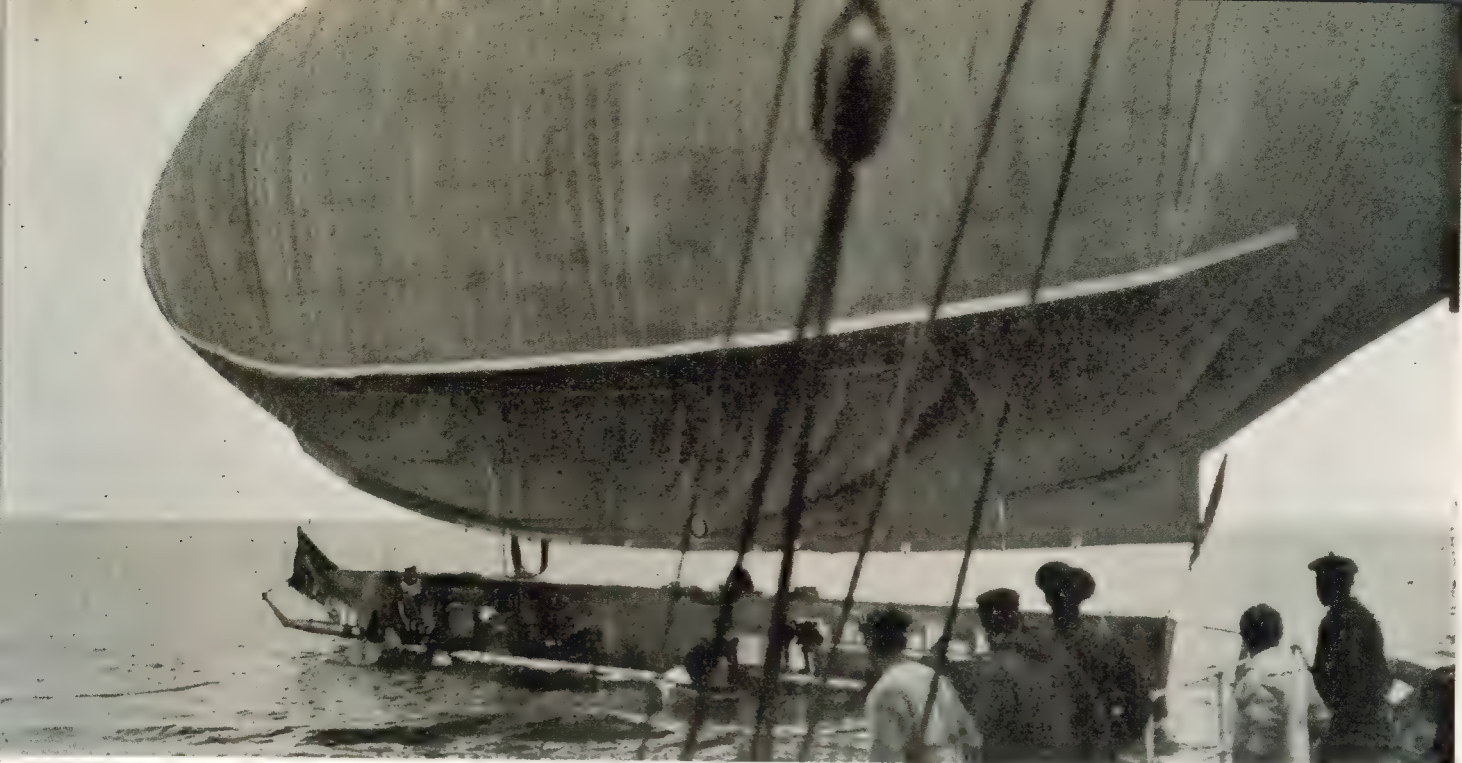
struments, and other portable gear from the airship; the heavy steel cage was left to the glacier. It was another failure—but, of course, Wellman would be back.

During 1908, Wellman remained in the United States to report on that year’s presidential campaign for his newspaper and to reestablish his financial contacts with the likes of Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Carnegie, and J. P. Morgan. When Lawson once again agreed to sponsor his quest, Wellman was off for another attempt to reach the North Pole.

The summer of 1909, therefore, found the adventurer back at his Spitsbergen base, where the repaired *America* was inflated and made ready for flight. Another engine and pair of propellers added to the force of the airship, whose crew this time consisted of Wellman; Vaniman; Louis Loud, who was Vaniman’s brother-in-law; and Nicholas Popov, a young, experienced balloonist from a wealthy Russian family. The weather was acceptable, and on August 15, pushed by a south breeze at about thirty miles per hour, the *America* moved strong and fast toward the northern horizon. As Spitsbergen receded, the travelers optimistically expected to be at the North Pole in thirty hours.

Wellman was writing up the ship’s log when he paused to look down at the water below, just in time to see “something drop from the ship into the sea.” He could not believe his eyes as the equilibrator plummeted into the ocean. Down





AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

went 1,200 pounds of balancing device and its contents of reserve provisions. Relieved of this load, the *America* shot up into the clouds. The crew's ears were ringing from the rapidity of the ascent, as it grew colder at the higher altitude. Vaniman quickly pulled the valve line down to let enough hydrogen out of the top of the balloon to prevent the airship from reaching even greater heights.

Recognizing that the Arctic had brought him only bad luck, Wellman did not wish to jeopardize the lives of the crew any further. Once the *America* was stabilized, he told Popov to turn the ship around and head for Spitsbergen.

But the south wind blew strongly. Instead of growing closer, Spitsbergen's peaks on the south horizon were shrinking. The *America*, unable to combat the weather, was drifting back out over the ice pack. To descend into less gusty winds, they released gas from the balloon. With the engine still working well, they were now able to head southward.

As the air crew stared longingly toward Spitsbergen, they discerned a dark object beyond the ice-cake fringe. It was the *Fram*, the Norwegian steamer made famous for its part in Fridtjof Nansen's polar attempt, steaming toward them.

The *America* strained to reach the *Fram*, eventually getting a line to it. But strong air currents shook the airship, threatening to tear its steel framework to pieces, so Wellman and his crew let the airship down until it touched the sur-

face of the water. The *Fram* sent its boats to transfer the dogs, instruments, and records from the airship.

Wellman and his crew, however, remained defiantly aboard the *America*. Captain Isachsen of the *Fram* was worried about the condition of the men until "we saw Mr. Wellman take out a big cigar, light it, and sit there calmly smoking while he gave orders to his men, which were as calmly obeyed." Captain Isachsen did not comment on the fact that a hydrogen-filled balloon hovered perilously above that cigar.

Although it was not caused by Wellman's stogie, a hydrogen explosion did claim the *America's* gasbag. After the *Fram* towed the airship back to Camp Wellman, Vaniman proceeded to use a pick axe to drain the gasoline tanks. The weight thus lost caused the gasbag to escape and ascend rapidly to an estimated height of about six thousand feet, where it exploded with a boom that shocked into unreal silence the eternal squawking of Spitsbergen's sea-birds.

The bag's remains fell into the water, and Wellman ordered them salvaged for his next project, which would involve a new and enlarged airship. After being informed of Peary and Henson's successful trek

*In the photo above, the America is shown being towed back to its Spitsbergen base by the Fram after its 1909 misadventure. Despite their numerous close calls, no members of any of Wellman's expeditions lost their lives. After the rebuilt America was forced down in 1910 while on its transatlantic voyage, Wellman (shown on the right below, with Vaniman and Kiddo, the cat) decided not to press his luck any further. He returned to the quieter life of a writer and transportation engineer, consulting on, among other projects, the building of New York City's subway system.*

to the North Pole by dog sled some months earlier, however, Wellman gave up his polar obsession and turned to transatlantic flight.

On October 15, 1910, the *America*—again rebuilt, with a new equilibrator and the addition of a lifeboat—departed At-  
*continued on page 71*



BROWN BROTHERS



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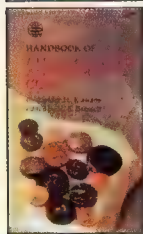


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# MESSAGE TO MACARTHUR

BY HARRY J. MAIHAFA IN 1951, REPEATED COMMUNICATIONS "SNAFUS" UNDOED PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ATTEMPT TO RELIEVE GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR OF COMMAND IN KOREA WITH COURTESY AND DIGNITY.

ON APRIL 11, 1951, just ten months after General Douglas MacArthur assumed command of the United Nations' forces in Korea, he learned through a radio broadcast that he had been relieved of duty by the commander in chief of the U.S. military, President Harry S. Truman. It was not supposed to happen that way.

Truman, after lengthy and painful discussions with his senior advisors, had made the decision to fire MacArthur as early as March 24, 1951. Two weeks later, he instructed Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall to carry out MacArthur's relief with courtesy and dignity. The leak that led to the premature announcement on April 11 was perhaps the single greatest

communications disaster ever suffered by an American president.

General MacArthur had been a perverse subordinate, complaining about the Truman administration's policies and going so far as to suggest that they were responsible for military setbacks in Korea. Yet MacArthur was one of America's most distinguished military commanders, a positive force in three major wars.

An "army brat" and a 1903 graduate of West Point, MacArthur helped to organize the 42nd Infantry Division—the "Rainbow Division"—during World War I and served in France as comman-

der of its 84th Infantry Brigade. Seven years after becoming its chief of staff in 1930, MacArthur retired from the Army, but was recalled to active duty in 1941, when America again faced the prospect of war.

As commander of the United States forces in the Far East during World War II, MacArthur directed a defense of the Philippines against the Japanese immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. In April 1942, a month after his escape to Australia from the doomed Bataan Peninsula, he took command in the Southwest Pacific theater and masterminded the Allies' island-hopping campaign to retake Japanese-held territory in the region. He fulfilled his promise to return to the Philippines in October 1944 and was

## The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11, 1951

### TRUMAN RELIEVES MACARTHUR OF ALL HIS POSTS; FINDS HIM UNABLE TO BACK U. S.-U. N. POLICIES; RIDGWAY NAMED TO FAR EASTERN COMMANDS

**HOUSE VOTES U. N. T. ONLY AS A PROGRAM**  
MARSHALL WORRIED  
Chairman Aspects Compromise  
Setting Up Committee to  
Draft Details of Plan

**TOBEY ASSERTS HE RECORDED**  
R. F. C. TALKS WITH TRUMAN  
President Said to Withdraw  
For Accession—Wife Said  
Attempting to Aid Cause



**RISE IN SALES TAX**  
EXPECTED TO PASS  
CITY COUNCIL TODAY

**U. S. PRODS NATIONS**  
SUGGESTS U. N. MEMBERS  
SEND MORE TROOPS  
TO FIGHT IN KOREA

**DEMISED BY THE PRESIDENT**  
VAN FLEET IS NAMED TO  
COMMAND 8TH ARMY  
IN DRIFTIC STRIKE

**VIOLATIONS ARE CITED**  
WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT  
QUOTES DIRECTIVES AND  
IMPLIES BREACHES

**BRITAIN ASKS THAT RED CHINA**  
HAVE ROLE IN JAPANESE PACT

**3 AVENUES ARE LISTED**  
CONTRIBUTIONS SOUGHT  
FROM NATIONS NOT  
YET COMMITTED



President Harry Truman's April 11, 1951 relief of General Douglas MacArthur from his post as commander of the United Nations' forces in Korea and U.S. troops in the Far East stirred passions across the country. An estimated crowd of 7.5 million people lined the route when New York City accorded MacArthur its traditional ticker-tape parade (right) nine days later, a welcome that exceeded those given all other returning heroes, including Charles A. Lindbergh in 1927.







awarded his fifth star two months later. Named commander of all U.S. Army forces in the Pacific in April 1945, General MacArthur accepted the surrender of Japan, which brought the war to a close, aboard the USS *Missouri* on September 2 of that year.

By 1950, the United States was again sending troops into combat, this time as part of a U.N. force dispatched to oppose communist North Korea's aggression against the South. Initially, MacArthur viewed his mission as commander of these troops in clear terms; he was to bring about the utter defeat of North Korea's armies. If to insure that defeat, he had to cross the 38th Parallel into North Korea, he was prepared to do so.

When the North Koreans were eliminated as a fighting force, however, more than 400,000 Chinese soldiers crossed the Yalu River from Manchuria to assault the U.N. troops. MacArthur realized that he now had a new enemy and a new war. By this action, the Communists had elected to launch a war against the West in the Far East, and MacArthur believed that their challenge had to be met unreservedly, with all the power at Washington's command.

Truman naturally saw things from a different perspective. His Pentagon and State Department advisors feared Korea might be but a secondary effort for the Communists, even a prelude to a major Soviet assault on Western Europe. The U.S. had already diverted a significant portion of its military resources to Korea. If Western Europe were the decisive battleground, it would be folly, they told him, to escalate the Asian conflict.

Time and again MacArthur and the Administration seemed to be at cross-purposes. On July 31, 1950, barely six weeks after the start of the fighting in Korea, MacArthur flew to the island of Formosa for a two-day visit with General Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Nationalist leader. In the aftermath of the visit, MacArthur waited almost a week to present a report of the meeting to Washington; moreover, Chiang Kai-shek made a vague statement implying that he and the American general had made secret agreements. Both Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson were furious.

Later in August, MacArthur further outraged the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon with a mes-



sage to be read at the annual "encampment" in Chicago of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The message, which sharply contradicted the policy of the United States and the United Nations, stated that "Nothing could be more fallacious than the threadbare argument by those who advocate appeasement and defeatism in the Pacific that if we defend Formosa we alienate continental Asia." Those who speak thus, he maintained, "do not understand the Orient. They do not grasp that it is in the pattern of Oriental psychology to respect and follow aggressive, resolute and dynamic leadership—to turn quickly from leadership characterized by timidity or vacillation—and they underestimate the Oriental mentality..."

Truman saw this message as a direct blow to his own foreign policy and de-

*Truman met MacArthur face-to-face for the first time in October 1950, when the two flew to Wake Island in the Pacific to confer on "the final phase of the United Nations action in Korea..." Before leaving Wake, the president presented MacArthur with a fourth cluster for his Distinguished Service Cross for his "conspicuously brilliant and courageous leadership and discerning judgment of the highest order."*

manded it be withdrawn. MacArthur obeyed, but it was too late. The Associated Press (AP) and *U.S. News and World Report* had obtained advance copies. While AP ran excerpts of the message on August 27, the magazine printed its full text. Truman's critics seized on the incident as another example of his administration's "bungling."

Later, when China became involved



in the Korean conflict, Acheson advised the president to search all avenues for a means of negotiating a settlement. "We can't defeat the Chinese in Korea," the secretary of state warned. "They can put in more than we can." Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was in full agreement; as he put it, an all-out war with China "would probably delight the Kremlin more than anything we could do."

As American casualties mounted, public support for the war fell. In the midterm elections of November 1950, it was generally recognized that public disenchantment with the war was a major factor in the heavy Democratic losses. Polls, which reflected public approval of the war at 75 percent in July 1950, showed a decline to 55 percent by the following January. And in London, the Labor Government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee also found itself under heavy attack for Britain's participation in the war.

As a result of such public sentiment, Truman, his advisors, and America's North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies all wanted a lessening of tensions. MacArthur's statement, however, seemed instead to inflame the situation.

On December 1, 1950, in response to

a query from Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press, MacArthur accused European leaders and newsmen—and by implication, the government in Washington—of a "somewhat selfish though most short-sighted" preoccupation with NATO and the safety of Western Europe at the expense of the Far East. Then, replying to a series of questions from *U.S. News and World Report*, MacArthur wrote that the limitations imposed on him by the denial of the options of "unlimited pursuit" and "unlimited attack" on Communist China was "an enormous handicap, without precedent in military history."

Once again, Truman reacted angrily. "I should have relieved General MacArthur then and there," he wrote in his memoirs. However, from a political standpoint, there were many reasons for not taking such action. MacArthur was a legendary figure; relieving him would create such an uproar among Truman's political opponents that it would surely lead to congressional hearings, perhaps even to calls for the president's impeachment.

Hoping to muffle MacArthur, Truman told Acheson and Secretary of Defense Marshall to issue appropriate instructions to all field commands and em-

bassies abroad. Accordingly, two bulletins went forth that, although ostensibly intended for all government officials, were obviously aimed at MacArthur. The first cautioned military and diplomatic personnel abroad "to insure that the information made public is accurate and fully in accord with the policies of the United States Government." No speeches, press releases, or other statements were to be distributed without prior clearance by the State or Defense Departments. The second directive called on all officials overseas to "exercise extreme caution in public statements, . . . clear all but routine statements with their departments, and . . . refrain from direct communication on military or foreign policy with newspapers, magazines or other publicity media in the United States."

Pentagon frustration with MacArthur matched that of the White House. Gen-

*Although based in Tokyo, MacArthur made frequent trips to the front lines in Korea. A few days after turning 71 on January 25, 1951, MacArthur (far right) flew to Suwon, where he conferred with General Matthew Ridgway (center), the commander of the Eighth Army who later was named as his replacement.*





eral Matthew Ridgway, then stationed in Washington, later wrote that apparently no one at the military complex "was willing to issue a flat order [to MacArthur] to correct a state of affairs that was going rapidly from bad to worse." When Ridgway asked his close friend, General Hoyt Vandenberg, chief of staff of the Air Force, why the Joint Chiefs did not simply tell MacArthur what to do, Vandenberg replied: "What good would that do? He wouldn't obey the orders. What *can* we do?" Incredible, Ridgway retorted: "You can relieve any commander that won't obey orders, can't you?" Later Ridgway recalled that the "look on Van's face was one I shall never forget. His lips parted and he looked at me with an expression both puzzled and amazed. He walked away without saying a word. . . ."

In late December of 1950, Ridgway left the Pentagon to take the place of General Walton Walker, who had recently died in a jeep accident, as commander of the U.S. Eighth Army in Korea. Thanks in large part to Ridgway's leadership, the Eighth Army soon regained the initiative in the fighting and retook South Korean territory previously lost to the Chinese. With battle lines approximating the prewar borders and communism having failed in its attempt to conquer South Korea, it seemed to the people in Washington that the time had come to propose a truce.

In March 1951, the State Department and the Pentagon worked together to draw up a carefully worded proposal and sent a copy to each of America's U.N. allies. Designed to permit the Chinese to negotiate an armistice without losing face, the announcement noted that aggression against South Korea had failed and suggested every effort should now be made "to prevent the spread of hostilities and to avoid the prolongation of the misery and

the loss of life." The U.N., it declared, was "prepared to enter into arrangements which would conclude the fighting . . . [and] open the way for a broader settlement in Korea, including the withdrawal of foreign forces from Korea."

An information copy naturally went

to MacArthur. Despite being warned that time would be "required to determine diplomatic reactions and permit new negotiations that may develop," MacArthur issued a statement on March 24 that was, in effect, an ultimatum to the enemy. His taunting proposal



UPI/BETTMANN



CULVER PICTURES

*When General MacArthur welcomed Secretary of the Army Frank Pace, Jr., to Tokyo in early April, 1951 (top), neither man was aware of President Truman's decision to replace the general. After learning on April 11 that he had been relieved, General MacArthur, shown at bottom entering his office building, prepared to turn over his command to General Ridgway, leave Tokyo, and return with his wife and son to the United States.*



declared that China had clearly “shown its complete inability to accomplish by force of arms the conquest of Korea,” and it threatened that “a decision of the United Nations to depart from its tolerant effort to contain the war to the area of Korea, through an expansion of our military operations to its coastal areas and interior bases, would doom Red China to the risk of imminent military collapse.” This ill-timed statement, viewed by the Chinese government as an insult and by America’s allies as cause for alarm, in effect short-circuited any possibilities for negotiation.

When the text of MacArthur’s statement reached Washington, Truman summoned Acheson and several other advisors to the White House. Although outwardly calm, the president was enraged by what he considered outright insubordination. Now definitely determined to relieve MacArthur, he wanted, for political reasons, first to gain the full concurrence of the senior military establishment. Perhaps he also wanted a “last straw,” one more blatant example of MacArthur’s defiance.

Meanwhile, plans for the peace initiative were dropped, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff dispatched a priority message to MacArthur that “. . . any further statements by you must be coordinated, [and] . . . in the event Communist military leaders request an armistice in the field, you will immediately report that fact to the JCS for instructions.”

MacArthur soon provided Truman’s “last straw.” He sent a letter to Joseph W. Martin, the Minority Leader (Republican) in the House of Representatives, the contents of which were made public on April 5, 1951. In the letter, MacArthur implied that he concurred with Martin’s own idea of using Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist force to invade the Chinese mainland.

Without revealing that he had already made his decision to relieve MacArthur of all his commands, Truman sought the following morning to garner support for the move from Secretary of Defense Marshall, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Bradley, Ambassador Averell Harriman, and Secretary of State Acheson. Bradley later wrote in a memorandum summarizing the meeting that “Secretary Acheson and Mr. Harriman thought [MacArthur] should be relieved at once. General Mar-

## “WE ALL KNEW SOMETHING MUST BE UP”

By April of 1951, I had been in Korea for eight months. The first six months (except for a brief period at a MASH unit, recovering from a wound suffered during our breakout from the Pusan Perimeter) were spent as a rifle company platoon leader in the 21st Infantry Regiment of the 24th Division. Since early February, however, I had been serving as aide-de-camp to the 24th’s new division commander, General Blackshear Bryan.

On April 11, 1951, I was with General Bryan as he greeted Secretary of the Army Frank Pace’s party at our division airstrip. Along with Pace and General Matthew Ridgway, we visited Colonel Pete Garland’s 19th Infantry Regiment of our division, which was attacking as part of Operation Dauntless. From there, we proceeded to the command post of Colonel John Throckmorton’s 5th Regimental Combat Team, at the time in division reserve.



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

We were, of course, unaware of the communication “snafus” that had taken place. As it happened, however, we almost added one of our own to the list. When the call came from Eighth Army asking for Frank Pace, the soldier who answered understandably replied, “No, we don’t have any-

body by that name working here!” Fortunately, someone “in the know” overheard him and grabbed the phone before the connection was broken!

After Secretary Pace took the call, he and General Ridgway went outside by themselves, even though it was storming a combination of rain and hail. I can still remember the look on General Ridgway’s face when they returned, as though the weight of the world was on his shoulders. In a way, I suppose that was exactly how he felt. I didn’t know at the time what was going on. However, when the secretary cut short his visit and headed back to the airstrip, we all knew something must be up.

One more personal experience comes to mind. Several years ago, I spoke to a civic group in, of all places, Independence, Missouri. After the talk, someone asked the inevitable question: How did I feel about the Truman-MacArthur controversy?

I laughed and said that the question, being asked in Harry Truman’s hometown, was obviously “loaded.” All I could say was that at the time, like most Regular Army officers, I was very troubled. However, as I learned more of the background, I became convinced that President Truman had done the right thing by relieving General MacArthur. That was my “head” talking. As for my “heart,” I mentioned that my wife and I had three daughters and one son, and although my own first name was Harry, my one and only son had been named Douglas! ★

— Harry Maihafer





shall and I recommended against such action."

Acheson, who strongly favored dismissal of the general, nonetheless pointed out to the president that such action would "produce the biggest fight of your administration." When the same four men met again with Truman on April 7, they asked him to postpone any decision in order to give each of them time to "cogitate" and to provide Bradley with time to consult the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

On April 9, having received the recommendations of his advisors, Truman announced his decision and gave Marshall the go-ahead to proceed with MacArthur's relief. Only then did the president reveal that he had "made up my mind that General MacArthur had to go when he made his statement of March 24." Following Marshall's and Bradley's recommendation, Truman also ordered Ridgway to replace MacArthur in Tokyo. General James A. Van Fleet, a proven combat commander, would take Ridgway's place in Korea.

The "instrument" for carrying out Truman's decision was to be Secretary of the



*In a dramatic, 37-minute-long speech before a joint session of Congress—from which members of the president's cabinet were conspicuously absent—on April 19, MacArthur ended his brilliant, 52-year military career, declaring that he would "just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty."*

Army Frank Pace, Jr. Already in the Far East on an inspection tour, Pace was the logical person for what was obviously a distasteful, yet momentous, assignment. He would personally deliver the orders that would relieve MacArthur of his command.

Pace, only 37 years old, was the second youngest man sworn in as secretary of the Army. A transport pilot for the Air Force during World War II, he was, by his own admission, no "military expert." After the war, the wealthy Arkansas lawyer and politician had risen rapidly in the Truman administration, serving as executive assistant to the postmaster general, before becoming assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget. Then, as Budget Director, Pace had helped Louis Johnson, the unpopular secretary of defense, in his announced mission of cutting the so-called "fat" out of the armed services. Many believed that it was mainly as a "cost-cutter" that Pace had come to the Pentagon.

The fighting erupted in Korea just two months after Pace took office. During the following months, he participated in important governmental decision-making and had even accompanied Truman to the October 1950 meeting on Wake Island at which the president met General MacArthur for the first time. Nonetheless, the tall, handsome, and personable Pace was considered to be "a babe in the

*continued on page 63*



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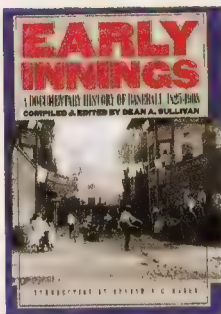
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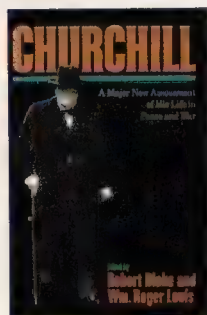


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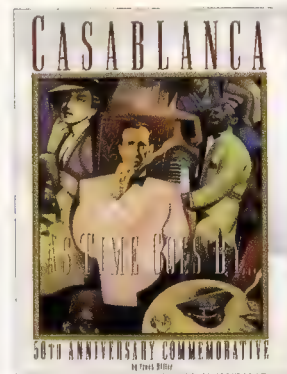
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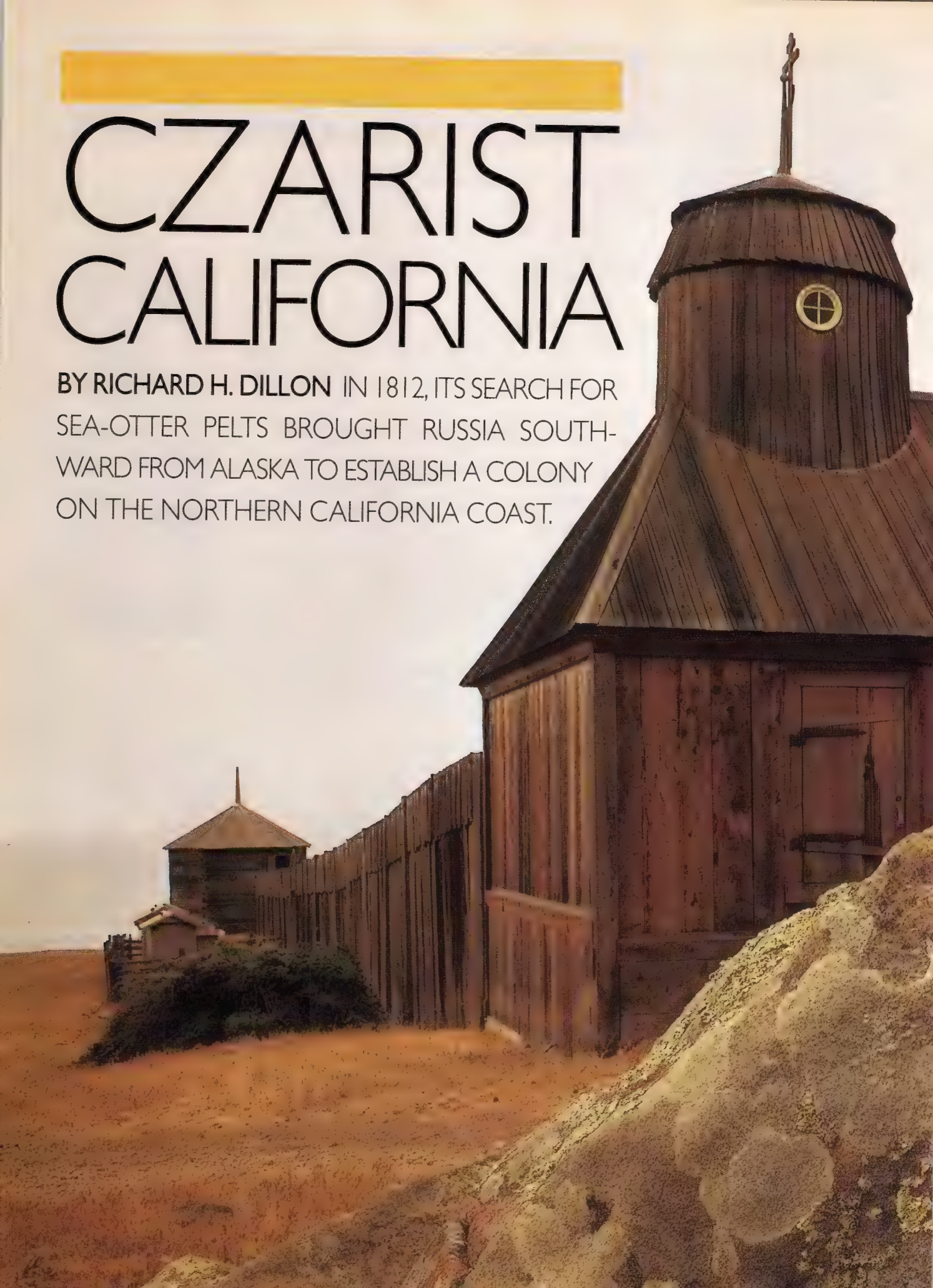
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# CZARIST CALIFORNIA

BY RICHARD H. DILLON IN 1812, ITS SEARCH FOR  
SEA-OTTER PELTS BROUGHT RUSSIA SOUTH-  
WARD FROM ALASKA TO ESTABLISH A COLONY  
ON THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COAST.







BEGINNING IN THE LATE fifteenth century, the nations of Western Europe expanded westward across the Atlantic Ocean and thence inland across the continents of North and South America. Their eastern neighbor, Russia, getting a later start, sent its explorers in the opposite direction across Siberia and reached the Pacific Ocean in 1639. Although the strait that separates Asia from North America was known to Russian seamen by the mid-seventeenth century—long before Vitus Bering, a Dane sailing in the service of Russia, gave the waterway his name—it was the mid-eighteenth century before its potential importance was recognized.

The discovery of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska by Bering and Alexei Chirikov was a considerable boon to Russian fur traders and entrepreneurs.

The fur trade had fueled imperial Russia's expansion eastward, and now the pelts of the North Pacific's fur seal and sea otter beckoned to be harvested for profit. By the early nineteenth century, more than sixty thousand fur pelts were exported annually from North America by Russian merchants and trading companies.

In 1783, Grigory Ivanovich Shelikhov, a merchant involved in the fur trade in the Aleutians and an advocate of extending Russia's influence southward into California, established the first permanent settlement in the region on Kodiak Island. Two years after Shelikhov's death in 1795, his widow, Natalya, joined with a former competitor to create the United American Company, which in 1799 was chartered by Czar Paul I as the Russian-American



Company. In addition to engaging in the fur trade, this joint-stock venture, which eventually established its base at New Archangel on Sitka Island, was empowered to explore and colonize all unoccupied regions. The first manager of the Russian-American Company was Alexander Andreyevich Baranov, who had previously served as Shelikhov's assistant.

Rezanov arrived on Sitka with instructions to inspect the colony and offer suggestions for its improvement. He was dismayed to find the settlement in a "disastrous situation," suffering from a severe food shortage. The harsh winter that followed and the failure of supply ships to arrive from Siberia brought the beleaguered settlers to the brink of starvation.

impeccable manners, the *Californios* traded foodstuffs for the furs and other goods brought by the Russians and assented in principal to a trade agreement.

Rezanov sailed back to Sitka in May of 1806 with a shipload of bartered food and, more importantly, the goodwill of the Californians. But while en route to St. Petersburg in 1807 to report to the czar on the

outcome of his trip and seek permission to marry Doña Concepción, Rezanov fell from his horse and was fatally injured.\*

With Rezanov's death, full responsibility for the California plan fell to Baranov, who, in 1808, sent his chief deputy, Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov, southward to look for a suitable place for a settlement on the California coast. Sailing on the *Kodiak*, Kuskov examined several sites before dropping anchor in Bodega Bay, less than twenty miles north of San Francisco Bay.

From there, Kuskov secretly moved the schooner to an anchorage west of Point Bonita and, carefully avoiding the defenses overlooking Golden Gate, portaged sixty *baidarkas*—large, seagoing, skin kayaks—over the rugged Marin hills

to Sausalito, to hunt in Richardson's Bay. In February 1809, the Spaniards learned, probably from deserters who jumped ship, that, the hunt completed, fifty *baidarkas* had been landed at Sausalito to reverse the portage and reach their mother ship from San Francisco Bay.

When he returned to Sitka, Kuskov reported that the Bodega Bay locale offered not only good hunting and relative security from the Spaniards, but also boasted fertile soil, plentiful timber, a supply of fresh water, and grass for grazing. Convinced that Kuskov had made a good choice, Baranov began making arrangements for establishing a new settlement in Alta California.

Unsuccessful in his first attempt to return to Bodega Bay in 1810, Kuskov finally arrived there aboard the schooner *Chirikov* in March 1811 to further plan

\*The tale of Doña Concha, as María de la Concepción was fondly known, is one of California's most cherished love stories. Unaware of her intended's death, she waited patiently for his return. When the unhappy news finally reached her, she entered a Dominican convent, remaining there until her own death in 1856.



THE FORT ROSS INTERPRETIVE ASSOCIATION, INC.

Perched on a bluff overlooking the Pacific, the Russian fort at Ross is distinguishable from other stockaded posts in the West by the architecture of its Russian-Orthodox church at the northeast corner of the enclosure (previous spread). The painting above by V. Ushanoff is based on a sketch by Frenchman Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, who visited the settlement in 1828.

Although Spain worried about Russia's uncontested presence in the North Pacific and its monopoly of the fur trade, little effort was made to exert Spanish influence in northern California. The concern of the Spanish authorities heightened, however, when Baranov, alarmed by the decreasing supply of sea otters off Alaska, sent an expedition southward to determine how the animal fared in the warmer waters along the California coast. Sailing as far south as Baja California, the party found otters to be plentiful, though their fur did not equal that of their Alaskan kin in quality.

In September 1805, Nicolai Petrovich

"We live in Sitka," Rezanov reported, "only upon the hope of leaving it."

Rezanov determined to sail the American ship *Juno* to San Francisco to beg for food. Outsiders were officially unwelcome in California and trade with them was forbidden, but the Russians hoped that, given the terrible conditions endured by the residents of Sitka, something could be arranged through the missionaries, if not through the representatives of the Spanish government. After a terrible voyage that saw much of the crew suffer the ravages of scurvy, the *Juno* reached San Francisco in early April.

Rather than divulge immediately the hardships befalling the settlement on Sitka, Rezanov attempted to convince the representatives of Spain that trade between their respective nations would be mutually beneficial. His efforts met with failure until he became betrothed to Doña Concepción, the 16-year-old daughter of the Spanish commandant, Don José Dario Argüello. Won over by Rezanov's impressive credentials and



for the settlement. Examining the terrain for miles around, he found no better site. In order to convince the native Indians, who had always been somewhat hostile to the Spaniards, to cede the land to them, the Russians plied the local chiefs with gifts—reportedly, “three blankets, three pairs of breeches, two axes, three hoes, and some beads.”

Because they found few otter in Bodega Bay on their arrival, Kuskov again dispatched the Aleuts who had accompanied the Russians on this visit to San Francisco Bay. As a result of their hunt, Kuskov, when he returned to Sitka, carried with him more than a thousand sea-otter pelts.

In March of 1812, Kuskov once more sailed the *Chirikov* to Bodega Bay, this time with instructions to establish the settlement. With him went 25 “men of Russian blood,” many of whom were artisans needed for constructing the buildings and fortifications, and 80 Aleut hunters with a fleet of 40 *baidarkas*.

Given events in Europe at the time—soon Napoleon’s army would be driving across the Russian steppes into Moscow—it seemed to be an odd time for Russia to be engaged in overseas expansion. But her rivals for the American Pacific Coast were equally occupied and much too distracted to block the Russian



PHOTO BY LON E. LAUBER

*The Russians were drawn southward from Alaska by their search for the valued, fur-bearing sea otter (above). The Russian-American Company fort at Ross contained only a few buildings within its walls. The house in the foreground in the photo below is the only original structure still standing from the Russian occupation. Built in the 1830s, it was home to Ross’s last manager, Alexander Gavrilovich Rotchev.*

move. Spain, though furious with the trespassing Slavs, was an enfeebled, reluctant ally of Napoleon and ripe for rebellion, which soon came both at home and in her colonies. Great Britain was not only fighting France, but was locked in war with the United States. As for the Americans themselves, they had no quarrel with a

Russian presence in California. In fact, that same year John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company signed a commercial convention with the Russian-American Company to transport the latter’s furs to Canton, China, a port closed to the Russians.

Kuskov led his men ashore at a small headland between two of the rugged coves on the Sonoma Coast. The Russians chose to build on a beautiful bluff, called *Mad-shui-nui* by the Kashaya Pomo Indians who occupied the region. The site—which they called Ross, a term that had come to be used for *Rossia*, or *Russia*\*—overlooked the ocean kelp beds where sea otters munched on succulent abalone, not far from the migratory track followed by the gray whales from the Bering Sea to Baja California. It was “a tolerably level table of something more than a square mile in extent, terminating on the sea-shore in a precipice of seventy feet, and so protected naturally by ravines on the other sides as to be of difficult access to an enemy.”

In August, Argüello sent Gabriel Moraga to investigate rumors of the Russian

\*Usually referred to at the time as “Ross colony,” “Ross settlement,” or “Ross fort,” the settlement did not become known as “Fort Ross” until the mid-nineteenth century, after the Russian-American Company had pulled up stakes.



PHOTO BY JOHN ELK III



presence. Kuskov received the Spanish officer courteously and allowed him to inspect the nearly completed settlement. Although upset by Moraga's report and the Russian disregard for Spanish claims that the land on which Ross sat belonged to them, the representatives of Spain lacked the military power necessary to oust the newcomers.

The redwood stockade Moraga observed included blockhouses—at the northwest and southeast corners—in which cannon and musket-bearing sentries served as an indication that the Russians intended to defend their claim to the settlement. Despite the show of arms, however, Ross was primarily a commercial, not a military, establishment.

Interested in finding furs and in growing grain and other agricultural products for shipment to Sitka rather than in gaining converts to Christianity, the

Russians were careful to establish good relations with the Kashayas through their headmen or chiefs. By treating the natives fairly, the Slavs expected to suffer none of the Indian revolts that plagued early Spanish settlements to the south.

In 1817, a Russian envoy, Captain Leonty Andreianovich Hagemeister, formalized Kuskov's earlier agreement with the Kashayas. In the treaty ceding the land to the Russian-American Company, the local chiefs claimed to be "very satisfied with the occupation of this place by the Russians . . ." This virtual deed of cession, forwarded to St. Petersburg in 1818, was probably the only written treaty between Europeans and Indians in California.

The Kashayas, who worked seasonally for the Russians, and the Aleut hunters lived outside the walls of the stockade. The three groups coexisted in harmony, and many of the Native Americans

learned to communicate in the Russian language. Over the years, the population of the settlement varied, with anywhere from 25-100 Russians and 50-125 Alaska natives residing there at one time. Only a few Russian women migrated to California, but marriages between Russians or Aleuts and native women were common enough that, during the 1830s, almost a third of the residents were children, most of whom had been born to racially-mixed unions.

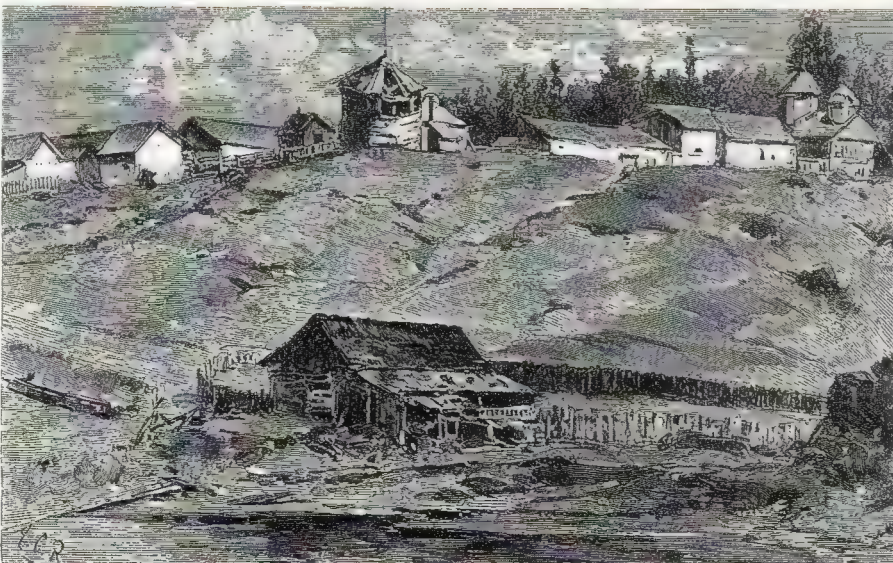
As expected, the harvest of sea-otter pelts for the China trade quickly brought profits to Ross. The first few seasons may have seen as many as three thousand pelts taken in a single year. Most were caught from the hunting station that the Russians established on the barren, uninhabited, Farallon Islands, less than thirty miles due west of San Francisco. Manned by up to ten Aleuts and Indians, the station took between 1,200 and 1,500 sealskins each year until 1818, then about 500 annually. Hunters there also killed sea lions and seagulls and gathered gull and murre eggs both for Ross and for shipment to Alaska.

The Ross settlement's industries, some more successful than others, were impressive for a frontier outpost. They included ship- and boatbuilding, leather tanning, lumbering, cooperage, brick making, metal working, and gunsmithing. Navigational instruments were made using hardwood from bay trees; tar was produced from pines, and tannin from tanbark oaks. And in 1814, Ross made regional history by installing California's first wind-powered flour mill on a knoll four-hundred yards from the stockade.

By the 1820s, 1,800 pounds of wool a year was produced on ranches near the settlement. Some of the wool was cleaned, carded, spun, and woven into thick blankets that were very popular with both Aleut hunters and Kashaya field workers, who bought them with



THE FORT ROSS INTERPRETIVE ASSOCIATION, INC.



COWLES ARCHIVE

*The flag of the Russian-American Company (top), bearing a two-headed eagle, flew over Ross settlement from 1812 to 1841. Following his purchase of the colony, John Sutter stripped the site of anything valuable and left the buildings to fall into ruin. A sketch published in a January 1883 issue of Harper's Magazine (bottom) suggests the damage to the site wrought by 42 years of neglect.*



their pay, in Company paper money or scrip, at the fort's company store.

Some blankets were also exported to Alaska, as were felt hats and mattresses of stuffed felt. Tallow from cattle and sheep was combined with flax wicks to make candles, or with oakwood ashes and lime from seashells for soap. Cattle horns were salvaged to make combs, lanterns, and powder horns. The master tanner dressed cowhides and deerskins for boots and shoes. A clay pit, found nearby, led to the building of a kiln and the firing of bricks and pottery utensils. There was, in short, "hardly any article of wood, iron, or leather which the mechanics of Ross in the early years could not make of a quality sufficiently good for the California market, and to the very last they received frequent applications from the Spaniards."

Kuskov, according to Company agent Kiril Timofeyevich Khlebnikov, particularly "liked gardening and paid special attention to it and always had an abundance of beets, cabbages, turnips, radishes, lettuce, peas and beans." Nonetheless, while vegetable gardens and fruit orchards did well, there was too much coastal fog for bumper crops of grain, and the damp afflicted the wheat with rust.

The first peach tree at Ross was transplanted from San Francisco in 1814; others were brought from Monterey three years later, around the same time Captain Hagemeister introduced wine-grape stock from Peru. Soon the settlement's orchard was also providing apples, pears, cherries, quinces, and bergamots. But the fruit crop varied considerably, depending on the weather. Clear skies and little wind brought a good yield, Khlebnikov reported, but "when the gales continue from May to September, and the sun is seldom visible, then the fruit will not grow."

With the sea-otter catch beginning to decline within four years after their arrival in California, the Russians had high hopes for the settlement's agricultural potential. However, in this too they were disappointed. Not only did the climate work against those seeking to farm, the inhabitants were generally ignorant of good farming practices. In addition, the coast's wildlife took a toll; "underground rats"—field mice, ground squirrels, and gophers—tunneled beneath the ground and attacked gardens from below, while ram-

*continued on page 58*

## JOHN SUTTER BUYS A COLONY

[In September 1841,] a Russian schooner, with Governor Rotcheff [Rotchev] on board, arrived from Fort Ross and offered to sell me the place. It did not prove a good wheat country, furs were getting scarce, and the expenses were greater than the income. This was the first I knew that they wanted to sell, and I was surprised that they should come to me. The governor at Sitka had instructed the governor at Fort Ross to offer me the place, and had sent an agent, Kostro Mitinoff [Pedro Kostromitinoff] to complete the arrangements.

Rotcheff told me there were others standing ready to purchase . . . but that



COWLES ARCHIVE

the governor at Sitka, having greater confidence in me said that I should have the preference. He then requested me to accompany him to Bodega, which I did. We went down the river in his schooner and landed at San Rafael, where we found horses with Russian servants, ready to carry us to Bodega. . . .

After supper, a formal offer was made to sell me the Russian establishment at Bodega and Fort Ross by Kostro Mitinoff on behalf of the Russian government. The price was \$30,000, two thousand dollars cash included the schooner

that Rotcheff went up to Sutter's Fort in, then lying at San Rafael, and the stores at Ross. The \$30,000 was for the houses, farms cattle and implements at Bodega and Fort Ross. This amount I was to pay in produce, in yearly installments, chiefly in wheat at \$2 the fanega. No time was specified. The Russians were to send down every year their vessel and take whatever wheat I could give them, (When the gold-discovery broke out I yet owed them a balance and the miner's destroying my crop I was obliged to pay them the balance in gold) . . . I accepted the offer. The deed was written in French, beginning "With the consent of the Emperor of all the Russians" To be signed witnessed and acknowledged before an alcalde we had to go to Yerba Buena. Before setting out for Yerba Buena however, we had a grand dinner on board the *Helena*. Champagne flowed freely; the Emperor's health was drank and the health of the new owner of Ross and Bodega . . . I wanted some of the Russians to remain with me as hired men, but the officers told me I could do nothing with them, that they could hardly manage them, & that they were sure I could not be severe enough.

I then embarked in a small boat via Golden Gate for Yerba Buena. The boat was manned by four powerful Russians. Rotcheff accompanied me. The tide was against us, the sea ran high and we narrowly escaped drowning. . . . Landing safely at Yerba Buena at last, we proceeded to the office of the Hudson's Bay Company, where the alcalde joined us and the papers were executed. They required from me no note nor any paper of any kind. They treated me very liberally, sending me by the vessel that came for grain, supplies that were very necessary to me iron, steel, ammunition, &c. I had more ammunition at one time than the government had. After the deed was signed I paid over the two thousand dollars in money and the transfer was complete. . . . ★



# TAKING THE TRACK

BY CARYNE BROWN THE FIRST U.S. WOMEN'S TRACK TEAM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OLYMPICS WON FOUR MEDALS, YET STILL FACED PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO FEMALE COMPETITIVE SPORTS.

sion. From the beginning, de Coubertin conceived of the Games as a gentlemen's athletic competition. While it was true that, in the interest of national pride, some of the athletes had to be drawn from the lower classes of society, Olympic policy remained safely in the hands of the European and the American aristocrats, yachtsmen, high-ranking military officers, and directors of private athletic clubs who made up the International Olympic Committee (IOC). These men deplored as a matter of principle women's sports competition, particularly Olympic competition.

Early on, women did make inroads into the more decorous events. At the II<sup>nd</sup> Olympiad in Paris in 1900, they were allowed to compete in golf and lawn tennis. In 1904 in St. Louis, women's archery was added, as was swimming in 1912 in Stockholm; springboard diving in 1920 in Antwerp; and fencing in 1924 in Paris.



ON AUGUST 22, 1928, despite the rain, a cheering crowd greeted the SS President Roosevelt as it docked in New York City carrying the champions of the IX<sup>th</sup> summer Olympiad in Amsterdam. General Douglas MacArthur, President of the American Olympic Committee, proclaimed that the American team had "won" the Games and that the victory symbolized "the best traditions of American sportsmanship and chivalry." Mayor Jimmy Walker presided over a ticker-tape parade and presented the 340 athletes with medals bearing the city's seal. "We have welcomed many distinguished visitors," he said, "but on no previous occasion have I felt the genuine pleasure I have now in welcoming, on behalf of the people of New York, the best we have in all our land."

For two of the athletes—19-year-old Jessie Cross from New York and 16-year-old Betty Robinson from Chicago—the homecoming was the culmination of what one would later call a beautiful dream. Betty and Jessie, the two fastest women runners in the country,

had led their teammates to a silver medal in the 400-meter relay; Betty had also taken a gold in the 100-meter dash. But the really important record for the 19-member women's track team was its very existence. The Amsterdam Games marked the first time in history that women had been allowed to compete on the Olympic track field.

If women's Olympic events are a crowd pleaser today, it is not because Olympic organizers planned it that way. When Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France revived the ideal of classicism and world peace with the modern Games in 1896, women athletes formed no part of his vi-

*With the inclusion of women's track-and-field events in the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, the number of female athletes (bottom) competing rose to a then-record high of 290. The 19-member U.S. women's track team returned home from the Games with four—one gold, two silver (similar to the one shown top, left), and one bronze—medals. Also shown (top, right) is the official poster for the 1928 Games.*



ARCHIVE PHOTOS





MEDAL AND POSTER: INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE





But Olympic track and field, that most visible meeting ground of the modern Games, was the real prize, as elusive as Olympic gold itself and the focal point of an athletic war of nerves that in the United States assumed the character of a siege. The issues at stake, while relating to sports, had far more to do with class prejudice, athletics-governance rivalry, public morality, and the Roaring-twenties sea change in American society.

The origins of women's Olympic field competition lay in a post-Victorian challenge to notions of female delicacy and the encouragement of healthful exercise for girls as well as boys. Track and field, installed in the physical-education curricula of Vassar and Bryn Mawr colleges in 1902, came rapidly to the fore.

By 1922, Dr. Harry Eaton Stewart, head of the New Haven School of Physiotherapy and cofounder of the International Federation of Feminine Athletes (IFFA), took a 13-member team to that organization's First International Games in Paris; track and field was the centerpiece of the event. The IFFA planned to hold "off-year" Games until women runners could compete in the Olympics, much as the women's games in honor of the goddess Hera had been held in ancient Greece.

Two years later, Stewart petitioned the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), which made the rules for Olympic sports, to add women's field events to the VIIIth Olympiad in Paris. The IAAF refused, but it did agree to consider them for the 1928 Games. On August 6, 1926, the IAAF Congress announced that women would be allowed to compete in five field events in Amsterdam—100-meter flat, 800-meter flat, high jump, discus throw, and 400-meter relay.

Stewart had drawn his 1922 team largely from elite Ivy League women's colleges. But as the 1920s roared on, other avenues for women's track and field emerged, most notably American business. Throughout the decade, businesses sponsored amateur track meets that extended the reach of women's field sports beyond the rarefied environs of private athletic clubs and Ivy League schools.

The widening scope of women's amateur athletics in the early years of the century owed much to what was then called "industrial recreation." Also known as "welfare work," industrial recreation was



*In 1926, most industrial and collegiate women's track teams, such as the one sponsored by Wanamaker's Department Store, were absorbed by the Millrose Athletic Association (MAA). Shown here after winning a 440-yard relay for the MAA are Mary T. Washburn, Jessie Cross, Carrie Jensen, and Loretta McNeil; all but Jensen competed in the 1928 Olympics.*

a key component of what is today called a corporate culture, specifically aimed at shaping—some would say manipulating—employees' lives. This was a period in which the department store, railroad, textile mill, or insurance company might take over the social and professional education of American teenagers who had not finished high school.

In the corporate culture of the twentieth century's first decades, a youngster obliged to quit school could barter long-term company loyalty for career advancement and a secure future. Mentored, trained, and monitored by a department store, for example, a 15-year-old sales clerk without a high school diploma might realistically expect to be a junior manager by the age of thirty. At the voca-

tional school set up by Bloomingdale's in New York, store employees could take courses to increase their job skills and chances for promotion.

Employers—driven by conceptions of social engineering that gave businessmen a measure of control over what they saw as an otherwise unpredictable immigrant labor pool—placed "constructive diversions in the way of the worker . . ." It was, they felt, an inexpensive way "to make the factory or concern a unit around which the life of the people may center."

By 1920, industrial recreation offered many full-time employees of school age their only organized social outlet. Welfare-work experts, as they were called, advised companies to set aside rooms on the premises for reading, dancing, or lectures. Some companies built tennis or basketball courts, and others constructed bowling alleys, swimming pools, or roof gardens. Until the Great Depression, industrial recreation routinely and generously subsidized amateur athletics and amateur theatrics, much as high schools and colleges do today.

In the spring of 1923, 13-year-old Jessie





Cross reluctantly entered the industrial-recreation arena in New York City. Forced by her father to quit school and help support the family, Jessie, along with her best friend Loretta McNeil, found jobs as credit-department clerks at the John Wanamaker Department Store in Manhattan.

Like its competitor Bloomingdale's and most larger companies in metropolitan New York, Wanamaker's sponsored a paternalistic industrial-recreation program, which included an annual all-expense-paid summer camp for school-age employees. It was in a summer-camp race against young Wanamaker employees from Philadelphia that Jessie first proved herself the Manhattan team's most valuable asset.

The employee track team was a magnet for Jessie, who as a child had won blue ribbons in Brooklyn's Scottish Highland Games and who now as an adolescent desperately sought a way to escape an oppressive home life. A year or so after Jessie started at Wanamaker's, her mother died of peritonitis. Too young and poor to leave home for good, Jessie was determined to help her younger sister to graduate from high

school. She stuck with Wanamaker's, gaining emotional support from store colleagues and fellow runners and finding a father figure in Mel Sheppard, the coach of the store's amateur track teams.

The "Wanamaker Girls," as the sports writers called Jessie's team, initially trained after hours, winding a path through the store aisles and its burnished-wood staircases. But by 1925, during the heyday of commercially sponsored women's track and field in greater New York, Wanamaker's—like Bloomingdale's—had constructed a running track on its roof. Even on the busiest retail days, the girls would be training on the roof or traveling to track competitions in Toronto, Chicago, or Dallas, instead of working on the sales floor or in the stock room.

An annual footrace known as either "The Wanamaker Mile" or "The Bloomingdale Mile"—depending on which store's promotion signs were being photographed—had become a familiar fixture in Manhattan by the mid-1920s. From 1924 to 1930, Jessie and the Wanamaker Girls reigned as metropolitan champions and rotogravure darlings of *The New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*.

*The opportunity to travel, as they participated in track meets across the country, was one of the advantages enjoyed by the young women (above) who participated in the track-and-field programs sponsored by businesses such as Wanamaker's in New York City.*

Behind the excitement of the commercially sponsored field competitions and inter-city travel for employee sports teams, however, were fractious yet serious efforts to arrive at the now-familiar ground rules for amateur athletics. Newspapers chronicled the bitter and public rivalry of such groups as the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF), and National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

The decisive fight took shape in 1922, when the NAAF charter declared: "We are not partisans of the exploitation of the young manhood and the young womanhood of our people as a commercial enterprise on the athletic field in the name of amateur sport. . . . We are concerned with building up the bodies of the rank and file of the people, with stimulating wholesome recreation, and inculcating the ideals of sound sportsmanship." Al-





INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

The high point of the Games for the American women's track team was the gold medal won by Elizabeth Robinson (above, second from left) of Chicago in the 100-meter dash. Robinson bested two Canadians—Fanny Rosenfeld and Ethel Smith—who took the silver and bronze medals, respectively, in that event.

though the NAAF denied wanting to replace the AAU as America's major sports-governance body, it, along with the NCAA and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), briefly withdrew from the American Olympic Committee prior to the Amsterdam Games in protest against AAU domination.

At the center of the controversy, although it merited little mainstream sports coverage, was the battle over how, when, and whether respectable young women ought to be seen on the Olympic track field. This battle was fought not by the athletes themselves but by the groups that jockeyed for moral authority and social control over young women in general and young female athletes in particular.

In one camp were physicians and coaches, men like Harry Stewart and Mel Sheppard who understood male-female physiological differences but recognized that "The joy of athletic competition, the satisfaction of becoming physically fit, and the desire to develop the attributes of sportsmanship are becoming almost as common among girls as among boys." Athletics, Stewart pointedly added "do not tend to make a girl less womanly."

The opposing view was taken by concerned citizens, "clubwomen," and physical education teachers, all of whom insisted that any physical benefits associated with women's sports were outweighed

## WOMEN'S TRACK AND FIELD TEAM—1928 OLYMPIC GAMES

MANAGER—Fred L. Steers, Chicago, Illinois

COACH—Melvin W. Sheppard, Millrose Athletic Association (MAA), New York City

CHAPERONE—Mrs. Aileen Allen, Pasadena Athletic & Country Club (PA&CC), California

### 100-METER and 400-METER RELAY

Elta Cartwright, Northern California Athletic Club (NCAC)

Elizabeth Robinson, Illinois Women's Athletic Club (IWAC), Chicago

Anne Vrana, PA&CC

Mary T. Washburn, MAA

Jessie Cross, MAA

Olive B. Hasenfus, Boston Swimming Association (BSA), Massachusetts

Loretta McNeil, MAA

Edna E. Sayer, Brooklyn Edison Club (BEC), New York

### 800-METERS

Rayma B. Wilson, PA&CC

Dee Boeckmann, Headlight Athletic Club (HAC), St. Louis, Missouri

Florence MacDonald, BSA

### DISCUS

Maybelle Reichardt, PA&CC

Lillian Copeland, PA&CC

Margaret Jenkins, NCAC

Rena McDonald, BSA

### HIGH JUMP

Mildred Wiley, BSA

Jean M. Shiley, Haverford Township High School, Pennsylvania

Catherine Maguire, HAC

Marion Holley, NCAC

by the imperatives of social virtue. Sports for women was not the problem; *competitive* sports was. Members of these groups were horrified that "he-women" or "glorified tomboys," trained and coached by men, should seek medals, trophies, and records. Particularly in track and field,

they contended, "individual accomplishment and winning of championships" created physical strain and emotional confusion in women."

The group aimed its first volley at the women's team that Dr. Stewart took to Paris. A resolution of the Atlantic City



Recreation Congress was typical of many: "We regard the representation of America at the Women's International Athletic Games held in Paris in July, 1922, as inopportune and unauthorized by any national representative body and, in view of the present state of women's athletics in this country, we are not in favor of international competition at this time." The battle joined, it continued for 18 years.

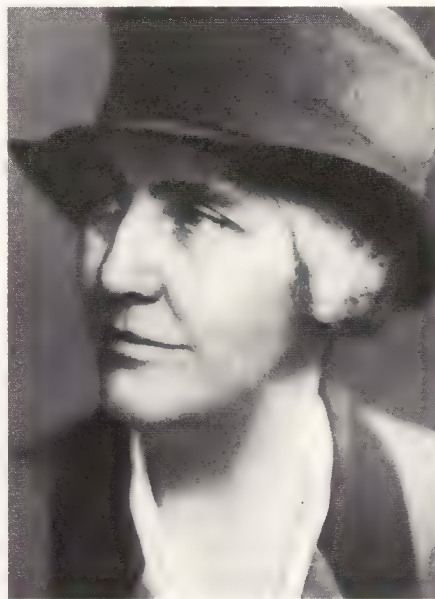
Complaints about women's competitive sports issued chiefly from the Women's Division of the NAAF. Formed in the spring of 1923 by Lou Hoover, whose husband Herbert was then President Warren G. Harding's secretary of commerce, the Women's Division led a coalition of sports organizations, including the YWCA, NCAA, and American Physical Education Association, in stoutly condemning women's athletics as lacking in "high standards and ideals." Women's sports, said the coalition, should "(1) include every member of the group; (2) be broad and diversified; (3) be adapted to the special needs and abilities and capacities of the participants; with the emphasis upon participation rather than upon winning."

Mrs. Hoover's alliance repeated the refrain of high standards and ideals throughout its existence. It first targeted interscholastic sports in secondary schools, but its mission quickly expanded, and commercially sponsored track meets featuring young women came in for special censure. There was fearful bewailing of "a new race of Amazons or Valkyries," one more hazard in a culture beset by flappers, bootleggers, jazz, Sigmund Freud, bobbed hair, and the "Lost Generation."

It was certainly true that the firms that sponsored track meets exploited their public-relations value as fully as possible. In 1926, most industrial and collegiate women's track teams in metropolitan New York were absorbed by the Millrose Athletic Association (MAA), which was financed by the Long Island Railroad, the Prudential Insurance Company, Wanamaker's, and other publicity-savvy companies that fed teams to AAU-sanctioned meets around the country. In New York, the widely publicized MAA championships were held at Madison Square Garden, with colorful Mayor Jimmy Walker, whose entourage always included photographers and slightly scandalous women, frequent-

ly present to award the trophies.

The companies sponsoring the teams basked in their young employees' lime-light. When Jessie Cross and Loretta McNeil—the only two working-class girls on the 1928 team—returned from Amsterdam to their jobs at Wanamaker's credit department, they were greeted by a display window featuring larger-than-life photo cutouts of themselves and a banner that shouted, "Wanamaker's



HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

*Future First Lady Lou Hoover, who formed the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation in 1923, considered competitive sports undemocratic and opposed women's participation in the Olympic Games. The emphasis, the Women's Division believed, should be on "participation rather than upon winning."*

**Welcomes Home Its Olympic Athletes!"**

According to the Women's Division, America's fragile young women had to be rescued from such shocking abuse. Decrying the "evils that have crept into boys' athletics through the lack of guidance and control," it vowed to "protect athletics from exploitation for the enjoyment of the spectator or for the athletic reputation, or commercial advantage of any institution or organization." Trophies and medals must no longer be important to girls; rather, the "spirit of play" must prevail. To bring this about, the Women's Division sought to restrict attendance at public track meets (to whom or by whom was not specified) and replace the meets themselves with programs similar to "play days" or "field days" at school.

Among the supposedly coveted play-day awards was one for "best posture."

But those who deplored business-sponsored amateur athletics for women overlooked the fact that members of company teams had no opportunity to participate at schools, still less at private athletic clubs. As full-time workers, they could not attend school play days, and a blue ribbon for posture could hardly compete with an Olympic medal for the personal achievement it implied.

For young men, civic and other virtues were deemed to be inevitable, desirable by-products of competitive sports. In 1921, amateur leagues in Chicago and New York delighted in a "healthy traditional rivalry between the two largest cities in the country in the matter of schoolboy athletics. . . . The educational advantages of intercity competition to the members of the teams that make these trips are very great and such trips will always live in the memories of the young men who are fortunate enough to go." In 1925, NAAF Commissioner John L. Griffith crowed that college men had taken 75 percent of America's track medals in Paris in 1924. Sports, he said, built a man's character and was the very model of American life.

Such nobility and character were not expected to creep into female athletics. Instead, only the evils loomed large. At a meeting of the Women's Division in 1924, Lillian Schoedler, herself a star runner at Barnard in 1911, earnestly explained why she now scorned women's competitive sports: "I am one of the selfish few who kept the many out of athletics. We want to get away from that sort of thing and develop sports for all. The aim is sport for sport's sake and for the participants' sake, not primarily for the amusement of the spectators or for the glorification of a few stars."

Beneath such fervor lurked a special understanding of what "many" and "few" really meant. The Women's Division, like the American Olympic Committee, was a creature of America's moneyed aristocracy, among whom pious declarations about moral ideals scarcely concealed a desire to shield the higher social strata from lower-class contamination. Whatever else was true of commercially sponsored women's amateur sports competition, it was one of the few

*continued on page 60*



# SOUTH OF THE BORDER

BY JOSEPH E. CHANCE DURING THE 1846-48 MEXICAN WAR, U.S. ARMY COMMANDERS DEVELOPED THE FIRST CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE FOR GOVERNING OCCUPIED FOREIGN TERRITORY.

ONE HUNDRED and fifty years ago, the United States went to war with Mexico. Although her army possessed numerical superiority in every battle fought, Mexico, encumbered with its own turbulent past and faced with rabid American expansionism, failed to achieve victory. When peace returned in 1848, the United States was larger by territory that included the present states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.

The thousands of American volunteers who, following the 1846 declaration of war by Congress, signed up to bolster the regular U.S. Army force in Mexico and experience the adventure for themselves, got more than they bargained for. The climate, living conditions, and other hardships they experienced in the camps and on the march south of the Rio Grande claimed the lives of more than 12,000 Americans; eight times the number who died in battle.

While the volunteers were not prepared for what they would find in Mexico, neither was the army prepared for them. Never before called upon to occupy and administer foreign territory, the U.S. Army had no code of justice in place by which it could regulate the behavior of large numbers of American troops who were not part of the regular army, had received little training, resisted military dis-

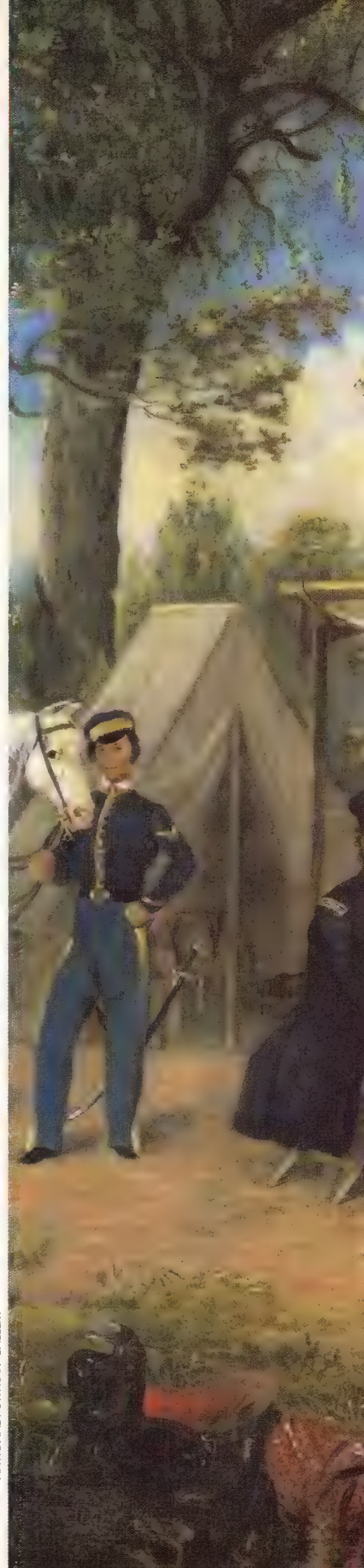
cipline, and were given to reacting violently and recklessly to the conditions in which they found themselves. Not until General Winfield Scott, commanding in the central region, issued orders directing the trial of all miscreants—not just those enlisted in the regular army—by military tribunal was discipline imposed. His action, in effect, provided the United States with its first code of military justice for the governance of conquered territory.

In 1836, Texas had won its independence from Mexico; now, in early June 1845, it was considering an offer of annexation with the United States. President James K. Polk, certain that Texas would accept the offer,\* sought to protect American claims to the region by ordering a military force to occupy the so-called Nueces Strip, a piece of land in

\*Texas did opt for annexation later that month and was admitted to the Union in December 1845.

*In an effort to pressure Mexican authorities to settle their country's differences with the U.S. through negotiation, President James K. Polk dispatched American troops under General Zachary Taylor (shown here, third from left, with his staff after the Battle of Buena Vista) into northern Mexico. When war was declared, Taylor had to deal not only with the enemy, but also with the lawless acts of the volunteers who augmented his regular-army troops.*

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY











BETTMANN ARCHIVE

*Although General Taylor's army peacefully occupied Saltillo, where this early daguerreotype of American troops was taken, civilians in the region suffered so greatly from the lawless actions of both Americans and Mexicans that many abandoned their homes and sought refuge in the mountains.*

South Texas lying between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. This "Army of Observation," led by General Taylor, established its camp just south of the Nueces River near the small port village of Corpus Christi. The president hoped that American occupation of the Strip would bring the Mexican government—which, still smarting over the loss of Texas, opposed its annexation—to the negotiating table.

The camp site for Taylor's army was located on the bay of the river near a trading post run by Henry L. Kinney. Since the 1836 battle of San Jacinto for Texas independence, the Nueces Strip had become a no man's land crossed and recrossed by Texan and Mexican raiding parties. Prohibitive Mexican import duties encouraged smuggling, and Kinney's trading post became the premier site for

illicit goods on this ill-defined border. Kinney built a fort to protect his post from the many desperate characters that populated the region and hired a force of equally desperate mercenaries to guard the premises. One of Kinney's employees was Mabry B. "Mustang" Gray, a known robber, murderer, and rustler who was later immortalized in song and verse.

An American army officer characterized the inhabitants of Corpus Christi at that time as being people who had escaped into the Republic of Texas to avoid prosecution for crimes committed in the United States and then, having committed a second serious crime in Texas, sought sanctuary on the Mexican frontier. Colonel Louis P. Cooke, one of the principal citizens of Corpus Christi was rumored to have had a \$10,000 reward on his head in the United States.

Within five months of the arrival of American forces at Corpus Christi, its population had increased by more than two thousand. No longer a village, Corpus Christi was now crowded by sutlers, daguerreotypists, gamblers, prostitutes, adventurers, and lawyers, all with one intent in mind: to separate the sol-

dier or naive civilian from his money. "Drinking, horse-racing, gambling, and theatrical amusements are the order of the day," observed Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock. The low moral tone of the town caused an exasperated Lieutenant Richard H. Wilson to exclaim that Corpus Christi was "the most murderous, thieving, gambling, God-forsaken hole in the Lone Star State or out of it."

By February 1846, it had become apparent that Polk's plan, instead of bringing Mexican officials to the negotiating table, had, in fact, caused their resolve to harden. Seeking, therefore, to increase U.S. pressure on the Mexican government to settle the differences between the two countries peacefully, Polk ordered General Taylor to relocate his army southward to the banks of the Rio Grande.

Just before pulling out of Corpus Christi in March 1846, Taylor issued Order 30 to his troops, who were about to become the first American military force to occupy a foreign country. In his directive, Taylor "strictly enjoin[ed] upon his command the most scrupulous regard for the rights of all persons who may be



found in the peaceable pursuit of their respective avocations . . ." and cautioned his men not to "interfere in any manner with the civil rights or religious privileges" of any people residing on both banks of the Rio Grande. Taylor, however, soon found that he lacked the authority to enforce such an order.

By late May, all attempts at a peaceful settlement had been exhausted, and war between the United States and Mexico had been officially declared. Taylor's army, having won the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, now occupied Matamoros. The collection of camp followers that had assembled at Corpus Christi moved with the army into northern Mexico. In addition, several regiments of undisciplined volunteers, fresh from the United States, began descending upon Matamoros. While Taylor could control the conduct of his regular-army troops, no adequate mechanism existed for regulating the behavior of the volunteers and civilian camp followers.

General Scott, as early as 1845, had recognized the potential problems involved in governing the actions of American soldiers, regular army or volunteers, in a foreign land. "American troops take with them beyond the limits of their own country," he pointed out, "no law but the Constitution of the United States and the rules and articles of war. These do not provide any court for the trial or punishment of murder, rape, theft, . . . no matter by whom, or on whom committed." As a partial remedy, Scott wrote a martial-law order to be issued in Mexico. It was presented to Secretary of War William Marcy for comment and later to Polk's attorney general, John Y. Mason; both returned the

order without comment, having concluded that it was "too explosive for safe handling." Scott then sent a copy of the order to Taylor as a suggested policy for northern Mexico, but nothing came of it.

One of the politically sensitive provi-

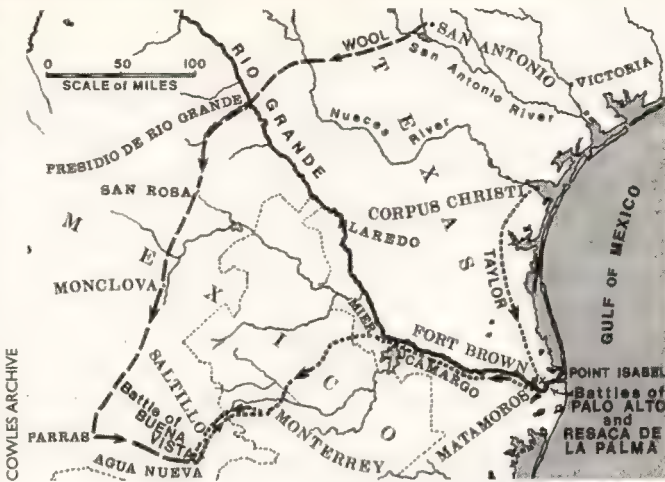
civil courts to turn to were powerless to punish offenders.

In August 1846, when noted actor Joseph Jefferson played in Matamoros, he encountered the kind of "bob-tail crowd" that always followed in an army's wake like "greedy crows" hovering over the heads of a prey, "impatient for their lean inheritance . . ." His Matamoros audience was, Jefferson said, "the most motley group that ever filled a theater."

*The American Flag*, a newspaper established in Matamoros soon after the arrival of the army, documented these lawless and violent times. The journal's August 10 issue reported on three bodies seen floating in the river; a murder committed by a soldier of the Louisiana volunteers against another soldier of the same company; and three assaults, two by Mexicans on volunteers and one by a volunteer on a Mexican. Typical of the advertisements in the paper was one for an establishment that offered "a BAR well stocked with the best Liquors the country can produce."

At first, Americans accused of crimes in Matamoros were turned over to Mexican courts of jurisdiction. But local Mexican governmental officials, fearful of retaliation from the friends of the accused, quickly released their American prisoners. When Taylor resorted to sending the worst offenders in chains to New Orleans, they were rapidly released on writs of *habeas corpus*.

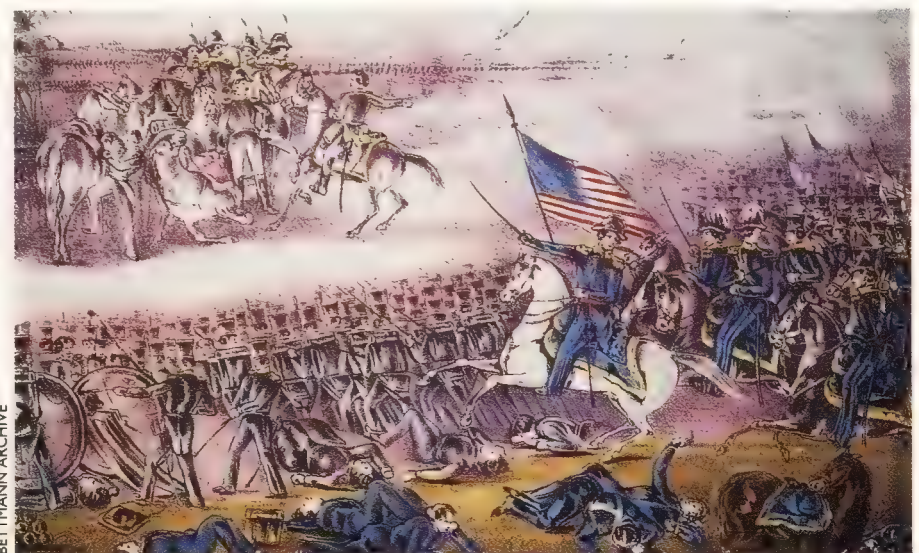
By early August 1846, General Taylor began to shift his army to Camargo. But, before leaving Matamoros, he issued Order 94, forbidding the importation of "spirituous liquors" up the Rio Grande to any of the cities along its banks.



This map of the military operations in Texas and northern Mexico, April 1846-February 1847, shows the progress of General Taylor's army from Corpus Christi to Buena Vista.

sions of Scott's order was its call for American soldiers and civilians to be handed over to a military tribunal for trial in civil matters. Because American legislators had never envisioned the nation's military forces acting outside of the boundaries of the United States, they had always assumed that any accused soldier could be handed over to the proper civilian court of jurisdiction for trial. Now, however, as volunteer soldiers and camp followers filled the streets of Matamoros, almost every form of crime became commonplace, and the U.S. military, without

*Outnumbered at every battle fought and plagued by the undisciplined actions of its volunteers, the American army nonetheless scored a string of impressive victories. The February 1847 Battle of Buena Vista (right), strategically the most important in the war, marked the end of formal hostilities in northern Mexico.*





**“REGIMENTAL BANDS** had so often struck up the mournful chords of the death march that the mockingbirds in the trees could whistle the refrain.”

The first American military governor of Camargo, Major General Robert Patterson, attempted to head off the kind of rowdy activities that characterized Matamoros by issuing strict orders that not only banned liquor imports, but also forbade American civilians from residing in Camargo unless employed in a military or governmental capacity and in possession of a work permit signed by an American officer. Any civilian fired by his supervisor was to be placed on a steamboat immediately and returned to the mouth of the Rio Grande for deportation from the country. This action effectively kept gamblers, prostitutes, and adventurers out of Camargo. However, the volunteers that remained in the city after the main army departed were a continuing source of problems.

Reputedly the most unhealthy site on the river for an army camp, Camargo's summer daytime temperatures reached in excess of one-hundred degrees. Clouds of caliche dust, stirred up by marching feet and horses, swirled in thick clouds through the streets. With no regard for camp hygiene, many volunteers soon became ill, and scores of communicable diseases swept through the garrison. One soldier referred to Camargo as a “yawning grave,” and another noted that regimental bands had so often struck up the mournful chords of the death march that the mockingbirds in the trees could whistle the refrain.

One of the few recreational activities available to men in Camargo was to gather on the banks of the nearby Rio San Juan to observe the ladies of the city as they partook of their daily baths. Lieutenant Napoleon Dana reported to his wife that “Many women used to go bathing in the river before and among the men, and many went down especially to look at them.” Dana, however, carefully explained to his wife that “I never look any more than I would have done if I had been walking with you.”

Many of the acts of violence committed in Camargo were fueled by contra-

band liquor being smuggled into the city. On October 19, 1846, Patterson made a surprise raid on Rancho Davis—a nearby location used as a wood yard for refueling the steamboats on the river—and confiscated more than twenty barrels of whiskey and ten tierces of brandy.

A month earlier General Taylor's forces occupied Monterrey, where he again faced the necessity of establishing a government. Taylor ordered his more disciplined regular troops to garrison the city;



*General Winfield Scott (above), determined to impose discipline on his troops in central Mexico, issued a series of strict and unprecedented orders that, in effect, became the U.S. Army's code of justice for governing occupied foreign lands.*

he and the unruly volunteers remained billeted at a camp on its outskirts.

When one of the Texas volunteers, who were known for their hatred of Mexicans, murdered a civilian in the streets of Monterrey on October 5, Taylor wrote to the secretary of war, requesting instructions on how to dispense justice in the matter. Secretary Marcy replied that, in his opinion, the accused could not be tried since the crime of murder was not specified in the articles of war. Any possible conviction, he felt, would be overturned by a court of appeals in the United

States. Marcy recommended only that the man in question be dismissed from the service. Taylor, therefore, decided to prevent similar problems in the future by giving early release to all Texas volunteer troops, commenting that “With their departure we may look for a restoration of quiet and order in Monterrey, for I regret to report that some shameful atrocities have been perpetuated by them since the capitulation of the town.”

By mid-October, Taylor had resorted to such measures as forbidding all troops not quartered within the city from entering its limits without a written pass and requiring those troops who did have passes to be out of the city before retreat was sounded each evening. While this order minimized contact between the citizens of Monterrey and the volunteer soldiers, it did not prevent the volunteers from terrorizing the citizenry in the countryside. To combat the excesses committed by troops and armed parties near the towns of Ramos and Marin, Taylor issued Order 146 on November 27, prohibiting the private ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys by “non-commissioned officers, musicians, privates, or laundresses of the various regiments.”

Earlier that month, Taylor had led a force that peacefully occupied Saltillo, located near the south end of the pass through the imposing Sierra Madre Oriental that effectively isolated northeastern Mexico from the remainder of the republic. He appointed Brigadier General William J. Worth as the first military governor of that city, a job with many responsibilities and no authority. Describing his predicament in a letter to his daughter, Worth wrote: “I give an audience of four hours to attend to the wants and complaints of the people. The lawless Volunteers stop at no outrage . . . . The innocent blood that has been base-ly, cowardly, and barbarously shed in cold blood, aside from other and deeper crimes, will appeal to Heaven for, and I trust receive just retribution. I cut matters short by administering off-hand jus-



tice although it is not always law."

While accompanying a wagon train that was transporting supplies from Camargo to Saltillo in early February 1847, Lieutenant Henry Benham saw first hand the excesses suffered by Mexican civilians who lived in the countryside. "Our wagon-masters were," he reported, "... the most accomplished of villains that are always found among the camp-followers of an army in the field,—the chief wagon-master being afterwards, as I heard, the head of a gang of robbers on that very route; and the teamsters, with arms in their hands for their own defense, not being restrained by these train-masters . . . committed such outrages upon the inhabitants along the route, especially near the half-way village of Cerralvo, that I declined to retain control of the train for the last day or two."

Retribution for the offenses Benham described was not long in coming. On February 24, a combined force of Mexican cavalry and guerrillas attacked another such wagon train near Cerralvo, burning the wagons and horribly massacring forty to fifty American teamsters. Now it was the Americans turn to retaliate, and so Mustang Gray, of Corpus Christi fame, led a mob of "Texas rangers, teamsters, and other persons" in an attack on Rancho Guadalupe, near Ramos, murdering 24 civilians. When Taylor attempted to investigate this crime, he met with a wall of silence. "I could not possibly ascertain what individuals were concerned in this atrocious massacre," he declared. Yet, the identities of the culprits were common knowledge to all in Monterrey.

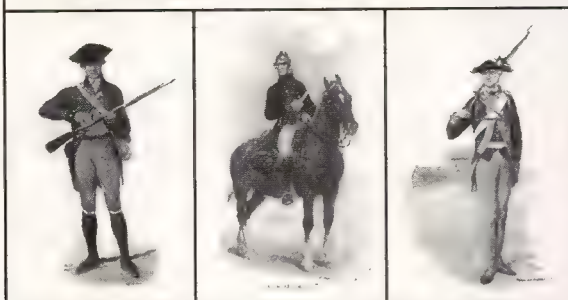
The pattern of attack and counterattack continued throughout 1847, with peaceful Mexican civilians caught in the cross fire. Any *rancho* failing to supply Mexican guerrilla bands was burned by Mexicans; any supplying Mexican guerrillas was burned by Americans. Mexican civilians along the route from Camargo to Monterrey soon abandoned their peaceful pursuits and fled to seek a hiding place in the mountains. A traveler reported in June 1847 that this route was "dotted with the skeletons of men and animals. Roofless and ruined ranches, and many a dark and smoldering heap of ashes, told the disasters . . ."

Josiah Gregg, a noted traveler and botanist, on a trip from Monterrey to Saltillo in December 1847, observed

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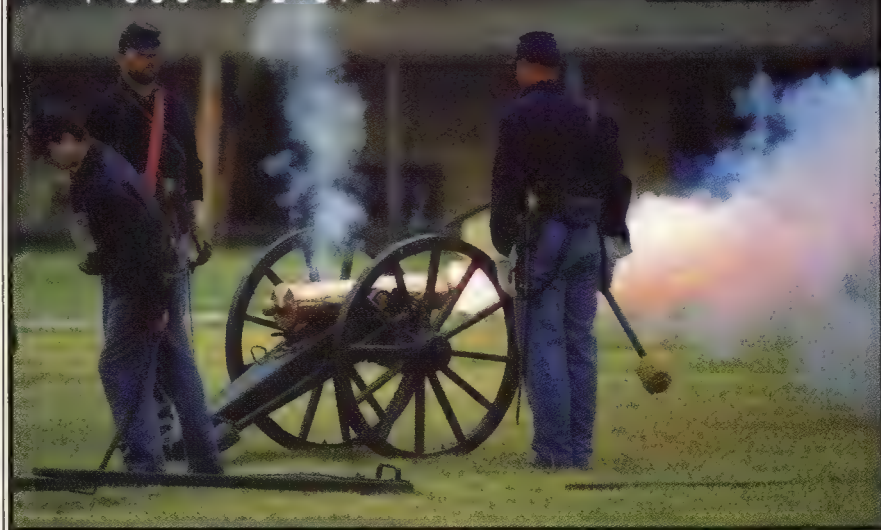
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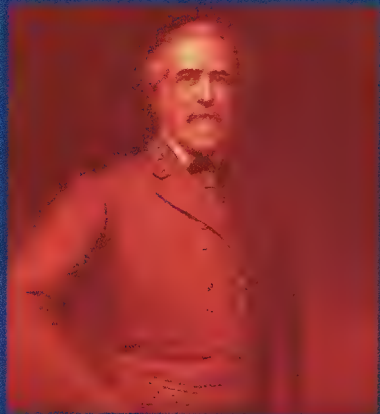
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that the village of Santa Catarina appeared deserted at the approach of Americans, "... and that all doors were barred against me; and the children within sometimes even screamed with fright when I knocked..." Gregg documented the destruction of houses by volunteers foraging wood for campfires and the killing of every edible animal on the premises. Volunteer and regular officers continually turned a blind eye toward these crimes, refusing to punish the guilty soldiers.

Early in 1847, Mexico's General Antonio López de Santa Anna, who had organized a large army in the city of San Luis Potosi in central Mexico to resist the American invasion, led his troops northward to strike Taylor's forces at Saltillo. The two armies clashed on February 23 in a narrow pass south of the city in the most strategically important battle of the war—Buena Vista. Vastly outnumbered American forces successfully defended Angostura Pass in a closely-fought series of engagements.

The dawning of the next day found the Mexican Army in retreat southward and summoned an end to formal warfare in northern Mexico. Although the active campaign in that region ceased, an ineffectual guerrilla war continued to be waged by Mexican irregulars.

Volunteer regiments from Virginia, North Carolina, and Mississippi remained stationed near Saltillo. Although they faced many serious cases in that city, the succession of military governors there also were called upon to arbitrate their share of relatively minor incidents. One of the governors, Colonel Samuel Ryan Curtis, reported a case in June 1847 that involved a "little Irish doctor and a Padre." The priest, who officiated at the Saltillo's rooster fights held on Sundays, was charged by the doctor with absconding with ten dollars of his money, a bet that he had placed on one of the birds. Curtis ordered the Padre to return the money, then fined the doctor the same amount for gambling on the Sabbath.

Faced with a much more serious situation, Curtis's successor, Colonel John F. Hamtramck, ordered five Mexicans summarily hanged without benefit of a trial. The prisoners stood accused of murdering two soldiers from the 2nd Mississippi Regiment. Lieutenant Abner Doubleday reported that relatives of the ac-

cused and other spectators packed Saltillo's main plaza, where the executions were held. As the prisoners were "swinging and struggling in the air," Doubleday remembered, bells throughout the city began to ring and "the air resounded with the wild shrieks and cries" of the dead men's relatives.

A Virginia volunteer wrote home that he had witnessed "the execution [in Saltillo] of five men at ten o'clock; attended church at eleven o'clock; visited the cockpit at three o'clock, where the priest who had conducted the services was acting as judge, and at five o'clock was at the race course."

The North Carolina and Virginia regiments participated in a short-lived mutiny near Saltillo on August 14, 1847. The garrison commander, fearing a recurrence of such insubordination, decided to make an example of the next major offender. Thus, when Private Victor Galbraith, an emigrant from Germany and a member of the Arkansas Cavalry, was tried by court-martial and found guilty "of threatening the life of his superior officer"—a crime that was specified in the articles of war—the troops were assembled to witness his punishment. After the condemned man "sang in German one of [Martin] Luther's grand hymns," he was felled by a firing squad.

Meanwhile, General Scott, who during 1846 was planning the invasion of central Mexico, had also become disgusted by the lawless actions of the "wild volunteers" serving in his command. While at Tampico in January 1847, he addressed the problem by heroically issuing, without the support of the government in Washington, Order 20, by which he extended the jurisdiction of military courts to crimes of the sort punishable by civil courts within the boundaries of the United States. Without this usurpation of civilian authority, Scott reasoned, he would not be able to maintain either the discipline or the honor of the U.S. Army.

On March 9, 1847, Scott captured the important Mexican port city of Veracruz. It was not long before the occupying army there discovered that he was determined to prosecute crimes committed against Mexican civilians. In April, after trial and sentencing by a military tribunal, an American camp follower accused of rape was publicly hanged in the city.



From Veracruz, the troops under General Scott continued westward on the National Highway toward Mexico City. A series of American victories along the way culminated in the capture of the capital on September 14, 1847. Although this marked an end to formal hostilities, Scott issued Order 284 three days later to remind his troops that, though fighting had ended, the war was not yet over, and to admonish them to be "sober, orderly, and merciful." Before long, calm was restored to the city, whose citizens had initially reacted violently to the arrival of the Americans.

Although the soldiers occupying the capital city committed their share of crimes, Scott's controversial Order 20 was credited by many with creating the relatively peaceful administration of the conquered regions of central Mexico under his jurisdiction. Scott's attempt to come to grips with the kind of failures that plagued the military governance of northern Mexico resulted in the establishment of the first real code of justice by which Americans in conquered territory would be governed. And surprisingly, the practice of binding over American civilians to military tribunals in Mexico did not create the fire storm of protest in the United States that had earlier been predicted by Secretary of War Marcy.

The end of the war came on May 30, 1848, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—agreed to by negotiators of both countries in early February and ratified a month later in Washington—was finally confirmed by the Mexican Congress. Much has been written about the importance of the Mexican War as a training ground for many of the officers who would lead both sides during the American Civil War in the 1860s and about the significance of the fighting there in demonstrating the crucial role artillery would play in modern warfare. Less well known, but no less significant, is how the conflict provided the American military with its first experience as an occupation force in a foreign land, a role that it would assume many times during the next 150 years. ★

*Joseph E. Chance is a student of the Mexican War and editor of the recently published Mexico Under Fire: The Diary of Samuel Ryan Curtis, 1846-1847. (Texas Christian University Press, Fort Worth, \$29.95).*

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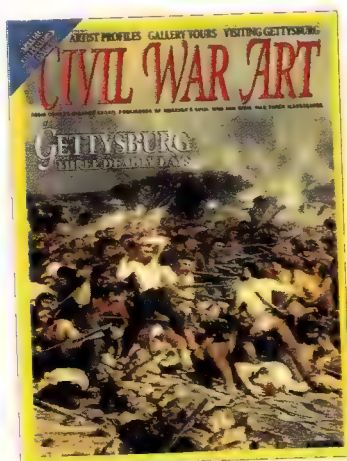
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## HISTORY BOOKSHELF *continued from page 14*

**BATTLESHIP MISSOURI: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY** by Paul Stillwell (Naval Institute Press, 450 pages, \$55.00) and **STRIKE ABLE-PETER: THE STRANDING AND SALVAGE OF THE USS MISSOURI** by John A. Butler (The Naval Institute Press, 246 pages, \$31.95). In his handsome book, Stillwell recounts the history of the long career of the USS *Missouri*—the last battleship commissioned by the U.S. Navy and the site of the surrender ceremony marking the end of World War II in the Pacific—through naval records, 380 photographs, and more than 100 interviews with former crewmen. Author John Butler's work provides a minute-by-minute account of the 1950 grounding—and subsequent re-floating—of the *Missouri* in the Chesapeake Bay. Salvage records, the recollections of those who took part in the two-week struggle, and transcripts of testimony given at later hearings shed light on the stranding of the United States' most technically-advanced battleship, affectionately known as *Mighty Mo*.

## VOICE FOR THE MAD: THE LIFE OF DOROTHEA DIX

by David Gollaher (The Free Press, 538 pages, \$28.00). Dorothea Dix (1802-1887) singlehandedly brought the plight of the mentally ill to the attention of the American government. Gollaher traces Dix's life from her New England childhood, with her physically abusive father and scornful mother, and highlights her years as a teacher; her championing of the mentally ill in State Houses and the Congress and before the president; and her service as the Union Army's superintendent of nurses during the Civil War. A deeply religious woman, Dix believed that God wished her to become the voice of the "mad" and to speak for those who could not speak for themselves.

## THE KOREAN WAR: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA

edited by Stanley Sandler (Garland Publishing, Inc., 456 pages, \$75.00). As the fourth volume in a continuing series

of the Military History of the United States, this exhaustive historical reference book focuses on the "police action" fought in Korea by United Nations forces and a Communist army. Complemented by a chronology, a bibliography, and a selection of maps and photographs, the in-depth text defines all aspects of the conflict, including the origin of the confrontation, tactical planning, military operations, treatment of prisoners of war, and the protracted armistice negotiations.

## "WE CANNOT ESCAPE HISTORY": LINCOLN AND THE LAST BEST HOPE OF EARTH

edited by James M. McPherson (University of Illinois Press, 208 pages, \$27.95). The nine essays by such leading Lincoln scholars as Kenneth M. Stampp; Mark E. Neely, Jr.; Harold Holzer; and Merrill D. Peterson focus on Abraham Lincoln's views of America's and his own place in history. The authors examine the Civil War president's belief that the United States represented the last best hope among nations for democratic government and consider such issues as Lincoln's international impact, his views on slavery, and his role as commander in chief during America's most turbulent era.

## WASHINGTON SEEN: A PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY, 1875-1965

by Fredric M. Miller and Howard Gillette, Jr. (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 247 pages, \$35.95). Rather than focus on images of Washington D.C.'s noted architecture and monuments, Miller and Gillette selected more than 350 black and white photographs that reveal something of the lives of the people who inhabited the nation's capital between the Gilded Age and the Great Society. Captured are workmen completing an arch at the new Library of Congress building in 1892; office workers employed in the ever-expanding government bureaucracy; children benefiting from the Works' Progress Administration's School Lunch Project during the 1930s; the well-stocked candy counter of a black-owned grocery store; and the eventual expansion of the city into the surrounding suburbs. ★



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## CZARIST CALIFORNIA

*continued from page 41*

bunctious grizzlies occasionally trampled them from above or preyed on the livestock. As a result, for all of Kuskov's enthusiasm for gardening, agriculture failed to become profitable. Indeed, "only small quantities of the product were ever utilized for exportation to Sitka."

As the local supply of sea otters dwindled, the daring hunters paddled farther and farther from Ross, until the Aleuts found themselves all the way to Cedros Island, half-way down the Baja California peninsula. There they speared otters and pelagic fur seals and harpooned sea lions and even whales, whose intestines they sewed up into water-proof clothing for their long, cold, and wet cruises. Eventually, Aleut *baidarkas* so brutalized and terrified the Indians of Southern California's islands that the mission priests were forced to relocate their people.

In 1830, Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell had sent an emissary to the Mexican authorities who now controlled California to win permission for the enclave at Ross to expand, thus acquiring more

land for farms. Mexico, however, would agree to negotiate only if Russia would finally recognize her independence from Spain. This the extremely anti-revolutionary Czar Nicholas I refused to do. Wrangell tried again in 1835, this time traveling personally to Monterey to confer with



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Mexico's representatives, but to no avail.

For almost three decades, the Russian commanders at Ross had turned a deaf ear to Spain's and, after its 1821 independence, Mexico's protests of the settlement's illegality. But Wrangell's failure to work out an agreement with Mexico, encroachments by Americans moving into the Pacific Northwest, the failure of

the Ross settlement to meet its agricultural potential, and, especially, the poor sea-otter harvest in Bodega Bay caused the Russian-American Company by the late 1830s to admit "the futility of continuing such a losing venture" and to examine their future in California.

On April 15, 1839, the czar acquiesced to the Russian-American Company's request the previous year for permission to abandon its California colony. Alexander Gavrilovich Rotchev, who took over as manager of Ross in 1838, first offered the settlement to the Hudson's Bay Company, but the British fur-trading giant was not interested. Rotchev then approached Eugène Duflot de Mofras, the French military attaché in Mexico City, about the possibility of his country striking a deal. Claiming that he lacked the authority to make an offer, de Mofras likewise declined.

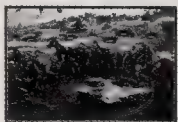
Rotchev then broached the subject with California authorities, in particular with Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, the commandant of Sonoma. Naturally, since Spain's and Mexico's representatives had always claimed all rights to the land, Mexico had no interest in purchasing some-

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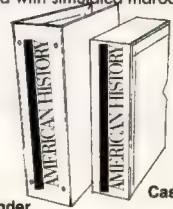
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thing it thought already hers. The fort, Mexican officials in California believed, would fall into their hands without cost once the Russians left.

Having exhausted all other avenues, the Russians finally sold the land and all other assets at Ross and its satellites to Swiss-born Captain John Sutter in 1841 for \$30,000.\* After a cash down-payment of \$2,000, Sutter was to make yearly installment payments in wheat—at a rate of one *fenaga* (the equivalent of 1.6 bushels) for every \$2 owed—and other commodities.

The contract was signed in December and, as the year ended, Rotchev withdrew his remaining colonists to Sausalito. On January 1, 1842, they boarded the *Constantine* at San Francisco and sailed north to Sitka. Since it was one of the items included in the purchase agreement, the *Constantine* was returned to Sutter, who renamed it *Sacramento* and used it to transport his other acquisitions from Ross to his settlement at New Helvetia, situated at the juncture of the American and Sacramento Rivers.

In May 1841, just months before the Russian departure, Rotchev, with Yegor Leontievich Chernykh, an agronomist, and Ilya Gavrilovich Voznesensky, a naturalist and artist, made the first recorded ascent of Mount St. Helena, far inland and dominating the Napa Valley. Naming the peak in honor of either Rotchev's wife, Princess Helena Gagarina, or the Empress Helena, they erected a pole on the summit and nailed to it a copper plate on which they recorded their feat in Russian and Spanish.

Mount St. Helena is only one of many reminders left by the Russians of their expansion into the future state of California, an occupation that went virtually unchallenged for three decades. In 1867, imperial Russia gave up the idea of spreading beyond its Pacific ports north of China and surrendered its last claim in North America with the sale of Alaska to the United States for \$7.2 million. ★

\*Since the right of the Russians to the land had always been denied by the Spanish and Mexican authorities, Sutter's assertion of ownership later caused considerable legal controversy.

Richard H. Dillon is librarian-emeritus of San Francisco's *Sutro Library* and author of many books on Americana. His article, "The Ordeal of Olive Oatman," appeared in the September/October 1995 issue of *American History*.

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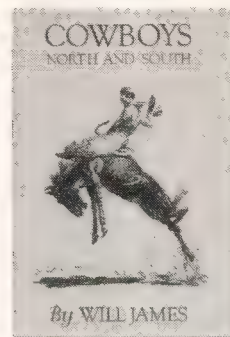
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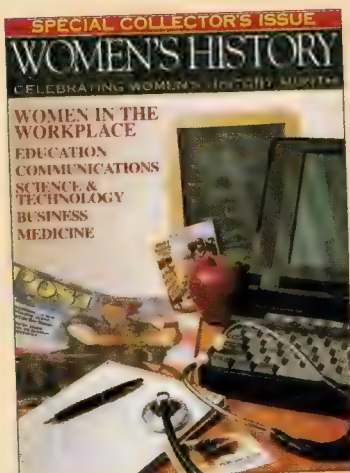
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**TAKING THE TRACK**

*continued from page 47*

mechanisms by which the "many"—working-class girls—could participate freely with the "few," their counterparts in elite colleges or clubs.

Nevertheless, the high-minded social argument of the Women's Division prevailed pretty much at face value. Throughout the 1920s, when competitive sports was hailed as "an essential part" of a boy's education, athletic programs for girls declined or altogether disappeared. Soberly mindful of high standards and ideals, school after school replaced girls' interschool athletics with intramural play days. A report by the Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic Association, echoed by similar groups across the country, set forth a view of competitive sports that leaped programmatically beyond a double standard toward double vision: "[W]e believe it advisable to promote a non-interscholastic type of athletic program for girls . . . [S]chools should have equal interest in the welfare of both boys' and girls' athletics . . . This association believes in promoting interscholastic athletics for boys."

In 1928, the American women returned from Amsterdam with medals in four of the five events in which they competed—a gold in the 100 meters, silver in discus and the 400-meter relay, and a bronze in the high jump. This strong showing put the Women's Division into a quandary. At its 1929 meeting in New York, the group bravely announced a "challenging" theme: "Competition for girls, more rather than less, but of the right kind."

Much was made of an incident in Amsterdam that saw Canada's Myrtle Cook weep when she was disqualified from the 100 meters for false starts. And, although no one mentioned that Lloyd Hahn of the U.S. men's team had sourly lumbered off the track when he fell behind in his 1500-meter heat, the fact that two women had collapsed after the 800-meter flat, either from exhaustion or disappointment, was thought to "prove" that long-distance competition was a threat to a woman's well-being.

In 1929, the Women's Division recorded its first formal "Olympic Protests," a solemn *ad hominem* series of documents around which opposition to competitive women's athletics would be organized throughout the 1930s. Taking the form

of a letter to the IOC, the first Protest pleaded for an end to the wretched onslaught of women's amateur sports events. It warned that competition in the Olympic Games "would, among other things, (1) entail the specialized training of the few, (2) offer opportunity for the exploitation of girls and women, and (3) offer opportunity for the possible overstrain in preparation for and during the Games themselves."

Calling, therefore, for the elimination of women's track and field in the Olympics at Los Angeles in 1932, the Women's Division assured the IOC it would sponsor sensible and appropriate events for women—"singing, dancing, music, mass sports and games, luncheons, conferences, banquets, demonstrations, exhibitions, etc."—at all future Olympic Games.

The group seized upon support it found in IOC quarters, though that support relied less on high standards and ideals than a simple wish for an all-male Olympic preserve. Baron de Coubertin had said as much at the closing ceremonies in Amsterdam: "As to the admission of women to the Games, I remain strongly against it. It was against my will that they were admitted to a growing number of competitions."

The Olympic Protest, though unsuccessful, was the last straw for Mel Sheppard, an unsung hero of the campaign to put women on the Amsterdam track. "Peerless Mel" had himself won three gold medals at the London Olympics in 1908, and a dozen of his speed records held through the 1930s. For years, the man who coached the women's track team that performed so well in Amsterdam let the pronouncements of the Women's Division go unanswered. But after the first Olympic Protest was made public, he told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that "Play games and mass athletics are commendable as far as they go . . . But the next step is competitive athletics." Competition, he said, was, for both boys and girls, the keynote of the day in track and field, as it was in swimming, tennis, field hockey, golf, and basketball.

Sheppard scoffed at the idea that women were unfit to compete, citing a meet at Chicago's Soldier Field in which Olympic teammates Jessie Cross and Betty Robinson resumed their friendly inter-city rivalry. And, he fiercely claimed for



girls the same enlarging benefits of travel and competition that everyone had always claimed for boys. In addition to benefitting physically from competitive athletics, a girl, he said "becomes a self-reliant person, able to take care of herself anywhere. Two of my own squad, . . . members of the American relay team at Amsterdam, went to visit relatives in Germany and Scotland after their competition in Holland. They never had been abroad before, but their athletic competition, their trips about the United States, the teaching of athletics had given them poise and self-assurance."

To the charge that women track stars were victims of crass commercial exploitation, Sheppard snapped: "Exploited? The women's track and field championships have been run on free fields, with free admission. The indoor championships have gone begging because they can't be run at a profit, and only the organizations really interested in women's athletics have promoted women's games, and at a loss."

Women were modest in victory, gracious in defeat, said Sheppard, chafing at reports of poor sportsmanship. Moreover, he added, track events were not as strenuous as a three-set tennis match. "Using isolated instances to prove that there is everything rotten in women's athletics is an old dodge," he said, "but the weight of evidence is all on the side of the hundreds of girls who are improved physically, morally, mentally and socially through competitive athletics." The Women's Division "is fighting a losing fight. The cause of women in athletics is too far advanced now for the opposition of organizations to do more than raise a feeble voice against the onward march of athletic womanhood."

Such criticism did not dampen the zeal of the Olympic Protest or put to rest the controversy over women's Olympic status. In 1932, future IOC president Avery Brundage (then head of the AAU) tried unsuccessfully to strip Mildred "Babe" Didrikson of the three medals she had won at that year's Olympics on a much-publicized (and trumped-up) charge of violating the Olympic amateur code. Brundage later succeeded in kicking Eleanor Holm off the 1936 swimming team after she was seen sipping champagne in public. "You Know," he told the *New York Times*, "the ancient Greeks kept

women out of their athletic games. They wouldn't even let them on the sidelines. I'm not so sure but they were right."

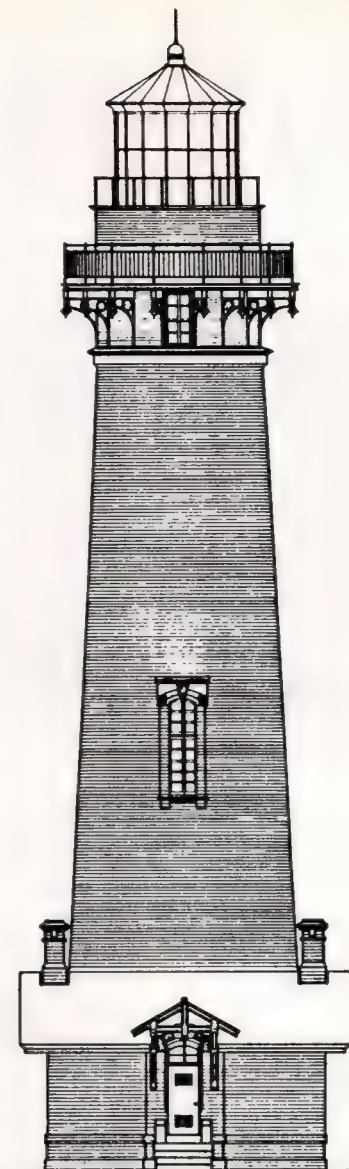
In 1938, the Women's Division urged Count Henri Baillet-Latour of Belgium, de Coubertin's successor as IOC president, to prohibit girls under 16 from competing in the 1940 Games. "Unfortunately," he wrote, "the majority is in favor of the participation of women in track and field events, and the question of the right age for participation is in the hands of the 'International Federations.'"

The Olympic Protest was checked permanently only by cancellation of the 1940 and 1944 Games because of World War II. When the summer Olympics resumed in London in 1948, women's field events were a standard feature of competition and the controversy surrounding their acceptability a dim memory.

The onward march of athletic womanhood in commercially sponsored venues, meanwhile, had not been unstoppable. The Great Depression accomplished what the Women's Division had been unable to do. Business-subsidized athletics for women and men alike withered as the Depression worsened and company after company closed its doors. Two years after winning silver relay medals, and the same year that the Millrose Girls held every AAU relay record, Jessie Cross and Loretta McNeil lost their jobs, and their chance for subsidized training for the 1932 Games. Lacking high school diplomas, they had little hope of finding work in the depression-riddled economy. It was on the deck of an Atlantic steamship that Jessie, a member of its service crew, read about Didrikson's Los Angeles triumph.

By the time World War II ended, industrial recreation was a thing of the past, a between-the-wars phenomenon that had disappeared right along with roof gardens and long-term corporate nurturance of undereducated adolescents. By the late 1940s too, rival sports-governance bodies had more or less reconciled, and schools and colleges were beginning to infiltrate both AAU competition and the Olympic trials. When commercial sponsorship of amateur athletics eventually reappeared in the United States, it took the dramatically different form so prevalent today. ★

*Caryne Brown is former editor of Woman's Enterprise magazine and a contributing editor to Income Opportunities magazine.*



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## MESSAGE TO MACARTHUR

*continued from page 34*

Cold War woods." Now, having left Washington in early April 1951 for an inspection trip to the Far East, he was "out of the loop" and uninformed about the decisions being made with respect to MacArthur's future.

So as not to alert the general, officials in Washington decided to use diplomatic rather than military channels for the message ordering his relief. The cable would go to Ambassador John Muccio, in Pusan, South Korea, who would then relay it to Pace. At least, that was the way it was *supposed* to happen.

Unknown to those in Washington, a "power failure" or "mechanical difficulty" delayed the receipt and decoding of the message, and it did not reach Pace that night as intended. Blissfully unaware of the key role he was to play, Pace spent the night in Taegu and, accompanied by Ridgway, left the next morning for the front.

Rumors of MacArthur's relief may have originated in Tokyo—or Washington—or both. In any case, while Bradley and the others were working on the press release, William D. Maxwell, managing editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, phoned his Washington correspondent Walter Trohan. "We have a tip from our man in Tokyo," Maxwell said, "that tomorrow an 'important resignation' is expected there."

Trohan rode to the White House and asked Truman's press secretary, Joseph Short, for a comment. Short told Trohan: "There's nothing to it."

Trohan started to write a story anyhow, but cancelled it when a second call came from his editor. "Forget that MacArthur tip," Maxwell said. "We've checked this source in Tokyo, and it turns out the fellow doesn't know what he's talking about."

Meanwhile, Short, unaware of Maxwell's second call, had rushed excitedly to where Bradley and the others were meeting, telling them that the *Tribune* "has the whole story and is going to print it tomorrow morning!"

The suspicion, of course, was that MacArthur had learned of Truman's decision and was about to beat the president to the punch by resigning. Bradley and the others hurried to inform the president. Truman, who more than anyone realized the political implications of

a resignation rather than a firing, decided to forego a formal change in command. "The son of a bitch," he said, "isn't going to resign on me! I want him fired!"

In order to insure that the president got his wish, an extraordinary 1:00 A.M. White House press conference was called. In his announcement, President Truman expressed his deep regret that "the General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is unable to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the United States government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties. . . . I have, therefore, relieved General MacArthur of his commands and have designated Lt. General Matthew B. Ridgway as his successor."

But by the time Short began his middle-of-the-night press briefing—it was 3:00 P.M. in Tokyo—MacArthur had still not received word of his removal. Bradley, in a frantic effort to reach MacArthur before the press got the news, decided to radio him directly that he was relieved "as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers; Commander in Chief, United Nations Command; Commander in Chief, Far East; and Commanding General, U.S. Army, Far East. You will turn over your commands effective at once to Lieutenant General Matthew B. Ridgway. . . ." But this cable—a futile last-ditch effort to notify MacArthur "officially" in advance of the press conference—took too long to arrive.

Earlier in the day, MacArthur's aide, Sid Huff, had been called by a newsman who had heard from his Washington bureau about the upcoming press conference. "Be sure to listen to the three o'clock news broadcast," he was told. "We think President Truman is going to say something about MacArthur."

Huff tried without success to call MacArthur's wife Jean, then turned on the radio. Midway through the broadcast, the voice said: "Stand by for an important announcement." Then it came.

Soon after, Huff's phone rang; it was Jean MacArthur. "Did you call, Sid?" "Yes. It's important. I just heard a flash over the radio from Washington saying that the General has been relieved of his commands." "Wait a moment. Repeat that, Sid. The General is here." After Huff repeated what he had heard, Mrs. MacArthur thanked him for calling and replaced the receiver before he could say anything further.

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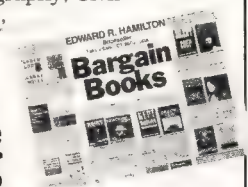
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A short time later, Huff received a Signal Corps brown envelope marked "Action for MacArthur." It was Bradley's cable, finally arriving. Huff brought the envelope to MacArthur's residence, handed it to Mrs. MacArthur, who in turn gave it to the general. After scanning the message, MacArthur said simply: "Jeannie, we're going home at last."

General MacArthur had known he was on a collision course with the Administration. Two days earlier, on April 9, as General Edward Almond was leaving Tokyo for Korea, MacArthur had said: "I may not see you anymore, so goodbye, Ned." When Almond said he didn't understand, MacArthur added: "... I have become politically involved and may be relieved by the president." Although Almond assured him that was "absurd," MacArthur continued to suspect the ax was about to fall. And now it had.

All across the United States, news of MacArthur's relief sparked a firestorm of protest. Much of the outrage stemmed from a public conviction that his learning about it "over the radio" was

a deliberate, calculated insult. One of many telegrams from constituents inserted in the *Congressional Record* demanded that Congress "Impeach the imbecile; we wish to protest the latest outrage on the part of the pig in the White House; impeach the Judas in the White House who sold us down the river to the left wingers and the UN; ... impeach the little ward politician stupidity from Kansas City."

MacArthur, deeply hurt by the "method" the president had chosen, told one confidant that he felt "publicly humiliated after fifty-two years in the Army." Outwardly, however, then and later, he handled the situation with magnificent dignity. When Ridgway met with MacArthur upon his arrival from Korea, he was "particularly struck" by MacArthur's "apparent lack of rancor or resentment. He was as calm and courteous as ever ... Certainly his indomitable spirit seemed undiminished."

Supporters urged MacArthur to return to the United States and tell his side of the story to the American people. Out of the country since 1937, he headed home, ar-

iving with his wife and their son Arthur, in San Francisco on April 17. He assured the huge welcoming crowd that "I do not intend to run for any political office. . . The only politics I have is contained in the simple phrase known to all of you—God Bless America."

From California, MacArthur traveled to Washington, where he addressed a joint session of Congress on Capitol Hill. His speech, heard and remembered by millions, ended poignantly as he declared: "When I joined the Army, even before the turn of the century, it was the fulfillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams. The world has turned over many times since I took the oath on the Plain at West Point, and the hopes and dreams have long since vanished. But I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barrack ballads of that day, which proclaimed, most proudly, that 'Old soldiers never die. They

just fade away.' And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty."

**"THE ONLY POLITICS  
I have is contained in  
the simple phrase  
'God Bless America.'"**

Many people consider MacArthur to have been a perilous demagogue; others believe that he was one of the most distinguished soldiers in the history of the United States. In retrospect, his clash with the president seems almost to have been inevitable, like a Greek tragedy with but one permissible conclusion. Douglas MacArthur, an accomplished soldier who could give orders but could not take them, and Harry S. Truman, his commander in chief, had always seen the Korean War—indeed, the world as a whole—through different lenses.

Recent history has been rather kind to Harry Truman. While he was in office, however, he endured much criticism. Ironically, the greatest criticism, and perhaps his greatest political disaster, stemmed from the method he employed in relieving Douglas MacArthur—a method he had never intended! ★

*Harry Maihafer, author of Brave Decisions: Moral Courage From the Revolutionary War to Desert Storm, is a retired Army colonel who fought in Korea.*



## AMERICAN COOKERY

continued from page 19

minced meat, apples, and spices. It was typical English fare, except that Simmons followed the recipe with directions that customized it for a North American winter: "Weeks after, when you have occasion to use them, carefully raise the top crust, and with a round edg'd spoon, collect the meat in a basin, which warm with additional wine and spices to the taste of your circle, while the crust is also warm'd like a hoe cake, put carefully together and serve up, by this means you can have hot pies through the winter, and enrich'd singly to your company."

Not surprisingly, Simmons's cookbook was a success. Only a few months after the first printing, a second 1796 version of the book appeared, offering Simmons the chance to criticize the source of errors that occurred in the earlier edition. She explained that the "author of *American Cookery* not having the education sufficient to prepare the work for the press, the person that was employed by her, and entrusted with the receipts, to prepare them for publication (with a design to impose on her, and injure the sale of the book) did omit several articles very essential in some of the receipts and placed others in their stead . . ."

Some of these mistakes would have had a dramatic, even a ruinous, effect in the kitchen. For example, the first version of the "Cream Almond Pudding" called for only one spoon of flour instead of eight, and her second "Rice Pudding" recipe called for one pound of butter and 14 eggs instead of half a pound of butter and eight eggs. Even more disastrous from the cook's point of view was the recipe for "Another Plain Cake." Here, Simmons notes, "for 9 pounds of flour, read 18 pounds."

Before long, Simmons found that "the call has been so great, and the sale [of *American Cookery*] so rapid that she finds herself not only encouraged but under a necessity of publishing a second edition." The new edition of Simmons's work was published in Albany, New York, in 1800. In it, she revealed that the 1796 published version had differed significantly from the manuscript she had given to the printer, featuring as it did a preface not of her hand. The advice on choosing food contained in the 1796 edition's first 17 pages fascinate the modern

reader with descriptions of such things as how to select a woodcock—"ought to be thick, fat and flesh firm, the nose dry, and throat clear"—but Simmons was not amused. "This is a matter with which the authoress does not pretend to be acquainted," she wrote haughtily.

Whosoever that other hand was, it complemented her own. Simmons's directions for cooking were always clear and her phrasing often pleasingly vivid, as when she instructed that the eggs for "Shrewsbury Cakes" should be "whipped into a raging foam" or that cream for the "Raspberry Cream" should boil "two or three wallops." The unknown author of the first 17 pages also turned a phrase well, as when noting that "Veal bro't to market in panniers or in carriages is to be preferred to that bro't in bags and flouncing on a sweaty horse."

One of the many new recipes contained in the second edition was for an "Election Cake." This giant concoction, calling for the equivalent of 120 cups of flour, 14 pounds of sugar, and three dozen eggs, was one of the first foods associated with American politics. Intended to be served at election time, versions of this cake appeared in most nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American cookbooks as "Hartford Election Cake."

While much of the content of *American Cookery* is pertinent to the twentieth century, Simmons also offered glimpses of the past. Rosewater, a staple of kitchens in Elizabethan England, was still being recommended for flavoring cakes, cookies, and fruit, and many times an extensive list of spices, harking back to medieval times, was suggested as seasoning.

Transitions between the past and the present are also evident. Simmons called for pearl ash (fine wood ashes) mixed with milk in such recipes as cookies and gingerbread. When mixed with liquid, pearl ash produces potassium carbonate and acts as a raising agent. This American invention, the precursor of baking powder, had still to make its way to Europe when *American Cookery* was published.

Both editions of *American Cookery* were frequently reprinted in the early decades of the nineteenth century, sometimes with Simmons's name on the title page and sometimes without the acknowledgement of authorship. In 1819, Simmons's book appeared as *Domestic Cookery* by Harriet Whiting. Such plagia-



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rism was not uncommon among cookbook authors of that era.

So little is known of Simmons's life that she does not appear in biographical dictionaries, not even those devoted to the lives of once-neglected American women. Some basic facts can, however, be deduced from *American Cookery*. Simmons's place of birth is unknown, but since the many versions of her book were produced by printers in Connecticut, New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire, she probably lived in the Northeast.

Her parents evidently died when she was young because Simmons describes herself on the title page of her book as "An American Orphan." She clearly felt the pangs of this sharply because she devotes her preface to describing its implications. Simmons's words suggest that perhaps she had few, if any, living relatives. She specifically notes that her "treatise" provides many hints "for those females in this country, who by the loss of their parents, or other unfortunate circumstances, are reduced to the necessity of going into families in the line of domestics . . ." Perhaps working as a servant had been her own fate.

But while these few biographical details are merely conjectures, *American Cookery* does reveal a great deal about Simmons's personality. She springs from its pages with all the freshness of a bright New England day—brisk, energetic, and enterprising.

And, not only did Simmons write *American Cookery*, she also, in effect, published it. Since the title page notes that Hudson & Goodwin printed the book "For the Author," she probably bore the printing costs and, in the end, reaped the full financial rewards of its success. Simmons may also have paid to publicize the book by taking out advertisements in several Connecticut newspapers.

In post-Revolutionary America, where great emphasis was being placed on patriotism, Simmons's cookbook not only offered women a way to make better use of local products, it also gave them an opportunity to exhibit their independence from the English style of cookery and be a part of a new American culture. ★

*A frequent contributor to The Boston Globe Claire Hopley specializes in articles about food, travel, and literature.*

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### FORT ROSS, CALIFORNIA

With the help of historians and archaeologists, California's Department of Parks and Recreation has meticulously reconstructed Fort Ross, the former Russian settlement situated seventy miles north of San Francisco (see pages 36-41).

Overlooking the scenic Pacific coast, the fort appears today much as it did during its occupation by the Russian-American Company from 1812 until 1841. At the southeast corner of the reconstructed enclosure, near the edge of the bluff, stands an eight-sided, two-story blockhouse, intended to guard the south and east walls of the stockade and allow cannon to fire on approaching enemy ships. From this blockhouse, the 12-foot-high stockade, built of heavy planks hand-hewn from redwood logs, extends west and then north to a similar, but seven-

sided, structure that offered protection to the fort's west and north walls.

At the northeast corner sits the rebuilt Russian-Orthodox church, the first established in the United States south of Alaska. Architecturally the most interesting building within Fort Ross, it was erected around 1824, and for a time after the Russians left, served as a hay barn. The original church collapsed during the disastrous April 1906 earthquake along the nearby San Andreas fault. Restored in 1916 and again, more accurately, in 1955, the chapel was burnt by an arsonist in 1970. It was, in 1973, once again faithfully rebuilt.

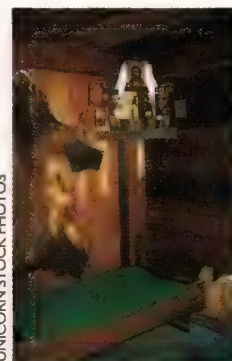
The only building still standing from the Russian occupation of Ross is the restored Rotchev House, which served as home to its last manager, Alexander Gavrilovich Rotchev, his wife Princess

Helena Gagarina, and their children. Among the reconstructed buildings that can be seen by visitors today are the large, two-story Officials' Barracks that provided company officials, and possibly visitors, with rooms and also included a kitchen, storerooms, and workshops; the Kuskov House, whose second floor served as home to the Russian commandants until 1836 and whose first floor contained a storeroom and armory; and the Employees' Barracks, which offered accommodation to single men.

Missing today are the forty or fifty buildings that once stood outside the walls of the fort. Gone are the "elegant," pitched-roof cottages—complete with their gothic trim—of married Russian settlers; the flat-roofed houses of the Aleut sea-otter hunters; and the conical, bark-slab lodges of the many Kashaya Pomo Indians who herded cattle and cultivated crops. The colony's cemetery has been located and is marked by a Russian-Orthodox cross. There are no longer vegetable gardens or wheat and barley fields protected by a low "palisade" fence of redwood pickets, but a few trees still bear fruit in the orchard. Just outside the wall, in the lee of an 1880s cypress windbreak, is the post-Russian Call Ranch (1873) that is now part of the park.

The Fort Ross Information Center has fine interpretive displays of the area's natural and human history as well as an excellent sales counter manned by volunteers from the Fort Ross Interpretive Association. Located along Coast Highway 1, the park is open from 10 A.M. until 4:30 P.M., daily except Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day. ★

—Richard H. Dillon



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## IN SEARCH OF FREDERIC REMINGTON

The Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming (307-587-4771), May 15 until July 31—closely examines the career of one of America's most distinguished western artists. The approximately 175 objects—including Frederic Remington's (1861-1909) oils, watercolors, and drawings; photo albums; printing plates and prints; studio artifacts; and scrapbooks—provide visitors with an insight into the artist's creativity and the reason for his enduring popularity. Using Remington's works of art, the show highlights the challenges he faced and his stylistic development. The exhibition will travel to Los Angeles; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Oklahoma City.

## PLAY BALL!

The Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York (718-624-0890), until mid-December—presents the history of the Brooklyn Dodgers and the inspiring story of Jackie Robinson (1919-1972), the first African-American baseball player in the modern-era major leagues. In this highly participatory exhibition, visitors enter the interactive displays through the "field," which is covered in "astroturf" and is complete with

bases—the third base is an original from the Dodgers' Ebbets Field—and home plate. Other highlights include a child-size radio booth where old baseball games are recreated; the Dodgers' 1955 World Series Championship banner, the only one they ever won in Brooklyn; and a Brooklyn Time Line that gives facts about the history of the New York City borough.

## GRANT WOOD: AN AMERICAN MASTER REVEALED

Davenport Museum of Art, Davenport, Iowa (319-326-7804), until September 8—features more than sixty paintings and drawings by Iowa's most famous artist, Grant Wood (1892-1942), whose work was inspired by rural Americana. Wood's most famous painting, *American Gothic* (1930), which brought him national recognition, will be displayed only until June 9.

## BECOMING AMERICAN WOMEN: CLOTHING AND THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE, 1880-1920

Skirball Museum/Skirball Cultural Center, Los Angeles (310-440-4600), until August 25—showcases approximately six hundred items of clothing and personal effects—as well as photographs, docu-

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## THE LAST BEST HOPE OF EARTH: ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE PROMISE OF AMERICA

The Chicago Historical Society, Illinois (312-642-5035), until February 13, 1997—documents the life of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), through the largest and most comprehensive collection of Lincoln memorabilia yet displayed. The more than two hundred rare pieces on view include Lincoln's stovepipe hat, a Gettysburg Address manuscript, a pair of life masks cast from his face, and the gloves that the president wore to the theater on April 14, 1865, the night he was assassinated. The approximately one hun-



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## WELLMAN'S POLAR OBSESSION

*continued from page 26*

lantic City, New Jersey, for Europe with a crew of six and a young gray cat named "Kiddo," taken half in jest as a mascot. This time the sponsors were London's *Daily Telegraph* and *The New York Times*, as well as the *Chicago Record-Herald*.

The drama of flying more than 3,500 miles over the ocean was uppermost in the mind of Wellman: "No one realized more clearly than we the difficulty of the task, the largeness of the order," he said. The longest airship voyage to date had been only nine hundred miles, and that was over land. Wellman planned to follow the steamer lane from New York to the English Channel, so that help might be nearby if anything unfavorable occurred.

The airship left Atlantic City amid a flurry of publicity and well-wishers. The crew, "conscious of the fact that no man before us had attempted what we were doing," were filled with excitement. "All about me," Wellman wrote, "were radiant faces—all save Kiddo's, it still a bit sour with strangeness; cats have no imagination, no ken of chemistry and human nature and the history of progress; no vanity in pioneering."

Two and a half hours out, the crew switched off the *America's* engine to test the wireless that would send the first message from an aircraft over the high seas to land. The crew was ecstatic as messages were soon being transmitted to and from Atlantic City.

Although the voyage started smoothly, a series of mishaps occurred during the following two days that caused Wellman to consider abandoning the expedition in order to save the lives of his crew members. Engine failure and the strong northeast winds that brought the *America* down almost to the crest of the waves, necessitating the expulsion of gasoline and lubricant and a large part of the eight-cylinder motor into the ocean, made it impossible to continue the journey. With the probability of the ship breaking up around him, Wellman pondered the consequences: "I had a particular horror of landing on Long Island. To leave Atlantic City for Europe and pull up somewhere near Montauk or Newport was not to be thought of. Even a holocaust seemed preferable to a fiasco."

On the morning of the third day at sea, Wellman spotted a steamer and

conversed by wireless with its officers. The steamship *Trent* then followed the drifting airship while plans were made for the rescue of the *America's* crew. Wellman and his companions decided that the safest way to leave the airship was to bring it down slowly to the water then try to launch the lifeboat into the ocean. The men, poised to clamber into the boat before separating it from the airship, suddenly realized that Kiddo was not with them. After retrieving the cat and getting everyone settled in, they released the lifeboat from a height of only four or five feet above the water.

But, the *Trent* had been traveling at top speed to keep up with the airship and could not slow down immediately. Before the *America's* crew had time to bring the lifeboat under control, the prow of the ship loomed up from the horizon and delivered a glancing blow to the small craft. Although it remained upright, the lifeboat soon was threatened by the *Trent's* propellers. Again, the Wellman luck held and no one from his party was lost. Before long, the exhausted crew of six men—and one cat—were on the *Trent's* deck. As Wellman watched the derelict *America* tumbling eastward into Atlantic oblivion, he willed his aerial ambitions to fade with it. The three-day flight of 1,008 miles, however, did break the existing record for manned powered flight. Not until 1919, did anyone cross the Atlantic Ocean by air.

Although many people scoffed at the endeavors of Walter Wellman, his philosophy was that it is worthwhile to try even if you fail, because failure often teaches as much as success. And Wellman was a true adventurer, one who aspired to do what other men would not attempt, and do it with much courage and determination.

Press reaction in the United States to Wellman's failure to cross the Atlantic was, on the whole, friendly. However, the rival *Chicago Tribune* happily fired a parting shot. "We can fully understand," they chortled, "why Wellman and his companions embarked on a voyage which for foolhardiness exceeds anything in the history of human recklessness, but what gets us is how a perfectly sane cat ever consented to go." ★

*K. C. Tessoroff is a freelance writer from Falls Church, Virginia.*



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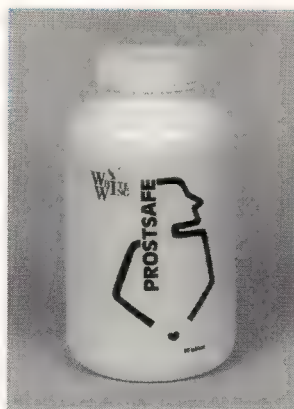
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## TIME CAPSULE

objects in history

Sunday, December 7, 1941. A pleasant morning greeted the Hawaiian Islands and the U.S. Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor on Oahu. Miles offshore, a Japanese strike force stood poised to sound a deadly alarm that soon would put Pearl Harbor under attack. At 7:48 A.M., Japanese bombs and torpedoes found their targets, creating a hell of twisted metal, burning oil, and dead bodies. The morning was no longer pleasant. America was at war.

Ten minutes after the attack, the Yard Tug *Hoga* (YT-146) got underway. Its name a Sioux Indian word meaning "fish," the *Hoga* had been sailed to Pearl Harbor from the mainland 11 months earlier by her first Craftsman, Chief

Boatswain's Mate Joe B. McManus and Quartermaster Bob Brown, who were still with her on this December morning.

*Hoga* raced toward battleship row, where her crew worked frantically to save the men and the ships. *Hoga's* heroism that day included fighting fires on the *Arizona*, saving the damaged repairship *Vestal* by pulling her away from the *Arizona*, and pushing the minelayer *Oglala* to dock before racing to the aid of the *Nevada*, which had been damaged while attempting to run the channel out to the safety of the open sea. Had the *Nevada* gone down where she was, she would have blocked the channel for weeks. The *Hoga*, working with another tug to nudge the *Nevada* gently aground, thus kept the channel open, enabling Pearl Harbor to serve as a strategic base of operation during the long war that followed.

For their bravery and service during the attack, *Hoga* and her crew were awarded a commendation for "commendable disregard for personal danger" by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, com-

mander in chief of the Pacific Fleet.

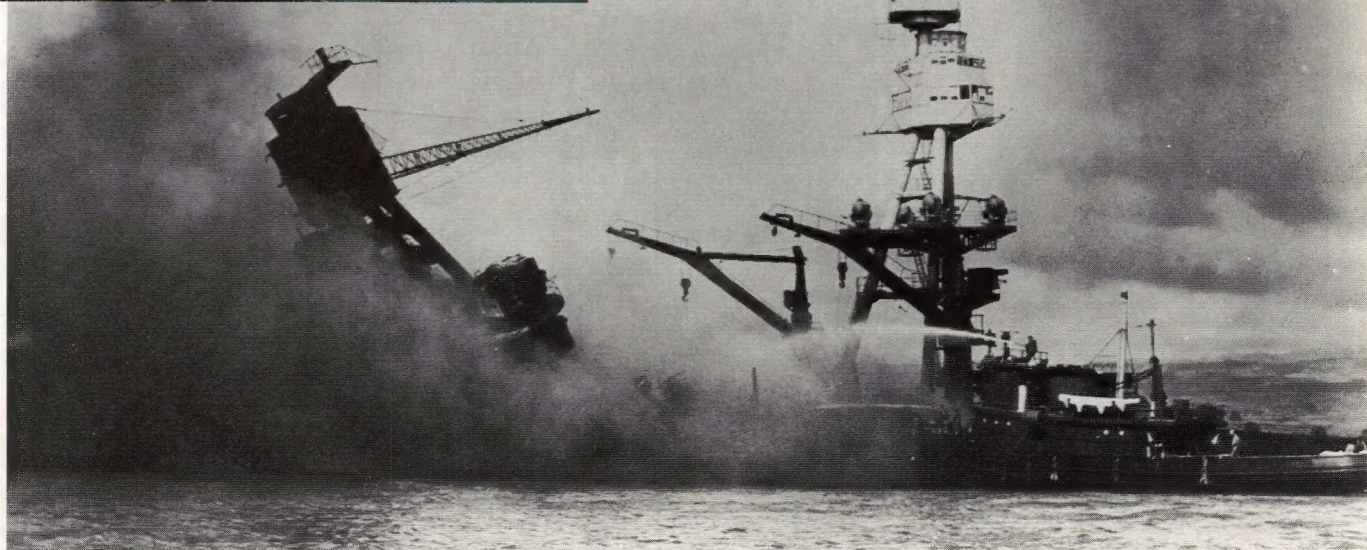
One of the smallest vessels to serve at Pearl Harbor, the *Hoga* is the last remaining vessel afloat that survived the Japanese attack there. After many years of service in the Navy and later as a fire tug for the Port of Oakland, California, the *Hoga* is now docked at Treasure Island Naval Base in San Francisco awaiting her fate.

The "Friends of the *Hoga*," a non-profit organization, has been formed to save her from the scrap heap and secure her place as a living monument. The organization hopes to raise the necessary funds and resources to refurbish the *Hoga* and return her to Pearl Harbor as part of the USS *Arizona* memorial exhibit. Sause Brothers Ocean Towing Company in Honolulu has generously offered to tow the *Hoga*, free of charge, from San Francisco to Hawaii once the funds necessary to restore the tug to her original condition have been raised.

Anyone wishing to help save the *Hoga*, may send a contribution to Frank McHale, Friends of the *Hoga*, 11 Arizona Memorial Drive, Honolulu, HA 96818-3145, or call (808) 735-3320. ★  
—Tom Campbell



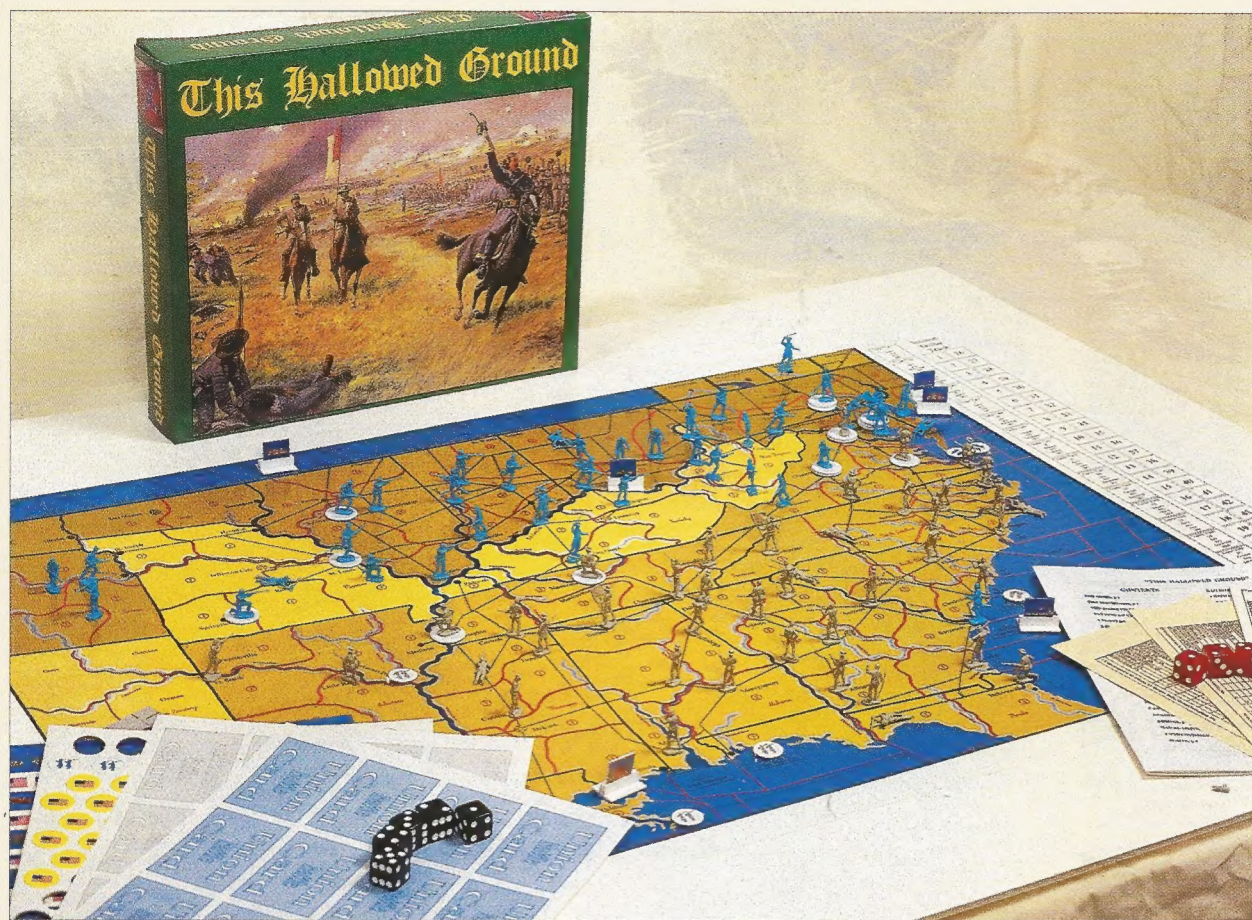
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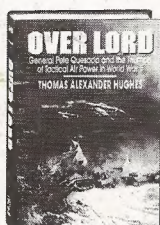
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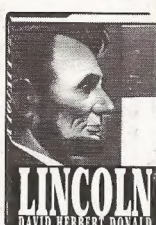
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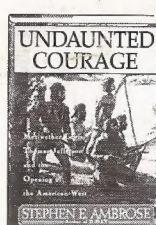
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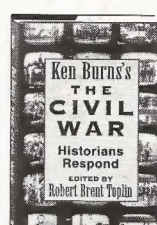
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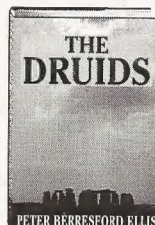
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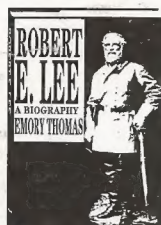
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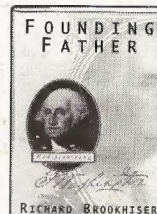
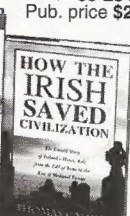
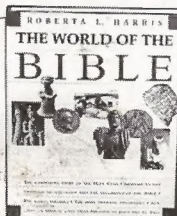


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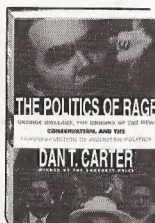
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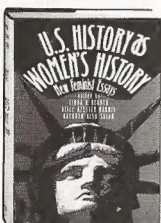
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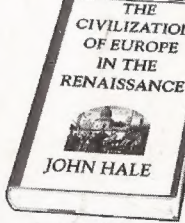
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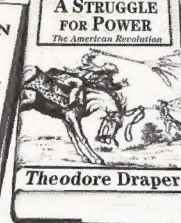
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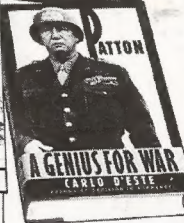
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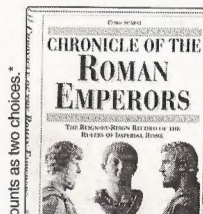
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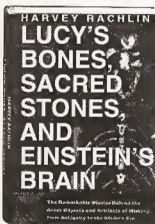
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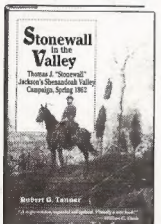
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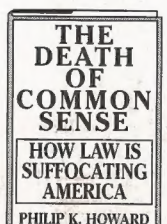
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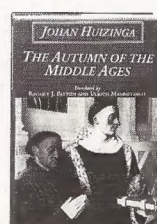
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